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ABSTRACT

Section A of the Journalism History section of the proceedings contains the following 10 papers: "Mixed Messages in a Progressive Newspaper: The Milwaukee Journal and Woman Suffrage, 1911-1912" (Elizabeth Burt); "The Search for Unity: The Importance of the Black Press in the Emigration/Colonization Issues of the 1800s" (Bernell E. Tripp); "Melancholy Accidents and Deplorable News: Sensationalism and the South Carolina Gazette, 1732-1738" (David A. Copeland); "Murphy's Speech: The Language of Class and Power in Newspaper Coverage of an 1857 Prize Fight" (Dennis Gildea); "Philippa Duke Schuyler: African American Woman Journalist" (Barbara Diggs-Brown); "'But Who Got The Money?' Some Answers to the Panama Libel Question" (Robert L. Spellman); "African-American Photo Coverage in Four U.S. Newspapers, 1937-1990" (Paul Martin Lester); "Joseph E. Johnson: Archetypical Frontier Editor" (Jack A. Nelson); "The Invisible History of Bylines" (Paulette D. Kilmer); and "The Image of the Soviet Union in Three Elite Western Newspapers: 1960-1990" (William Gombash, III). (RS)

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MIXED MESSAGES IN A PROGRESSIVE NEWSPAPER: THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE, 1911-1912

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Presented to the Annual Meeting of
The AEJMC, History Division
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This paper examines how the *Milwaukee Journal* responded to efforts by the Wisconsin woman suffrage movement to win press coverage and support of its campaign for a woman suffrage referendum in 1912. An analysis of the first page and editorial page during the twenty-two month period between introduction of the referendum bill in the legislature and the popular vote on the referendum shows that while the *Journal,* a progressive newspaper, at first endorsed the measure, it drastically decreased its coverage and support after the first few months of the campaign. While several possibilities for this shift are considered, it is speculated that it was influenced by interest groups opposed to woman suffrage, specifically by the beer industry. Original documents of the state's woman suffrage organizations, letters from newspaper editors, and the pages of the *Milwaukee Journal* are used as source materials.

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Submitted to

THE 1992 CONFERENCE OF
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History Division

By
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Doctoral Student

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Price Competition

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Introduction

Social movements have long depended upon the press as a means of spreading their message and recruiting support. Recent analyses of this relationship have suggested that social movements in modern America are dependent on media coverage not only as a means of winning resources and support, but also as a means of validation. This craving for validation (which may in some cases be more notoriety than validation), however, may sidetrack activists so that the mere means (gaining media attention) may actually become the ends of their actions, allowing them to lose sight of their original goals.[1]

Activists thus can come to confuse their success in winning media coverage with the success of the movement when, in fact, the two do not always coincide. If, for example the goal of social movements generally is to enlighten the people in regards to a specific issue, win their support, and cause positive change in regards to the movement issue, media coverage may only accomplish, in some cases, the first of these. Further, media coverage may only stimulate *awareness of* the issue rather than *knowledge about* it. Finally, coverage of a movement by the press, regardless of the quality of the awareness raised, does not necessarily guarantee the success of a movement.

There are historical precedents that explain this perhaps mistaken faith in media coverage. Since the period of the Enlightenment at least, when it was believed that knowledge was the key to a better world and that if people were properly educated or informed they could make the "right" choices, reformers and revolutionaries alike have put their faith in the media, whether it be the book, the pamphlet, the newspaper, or television. Not all these movements succeeded, although they may have won ample access to the media, and we might well ask how many were subverted from their original vision and goals by the desire to have their arguments presented to the public.

The Wisconsin Woman Suffrage movement is a case in point. Early in the career of the national movement, as early as the 1870s, in fact, suffragists became aware of the possibilities of press coverage and began to plan strategies to control or channel it. By the turn of the century, national and state organizations had formed that included press committees with highly developed communication networks. Not only did they release information about woman suffrage, they also responded to negative press on the subject. When, in 1911, a suffrage referendum was passed by the Wisconsin legislature and put on the calendar for a popular vote, the suffrage forces immediately moved into action. In the twenty months between the passage of the bill and the popular referendum, suffragists mounted a highly organized publicity and press campaign. They succeeded to the extent that they won the endorsement of many of the state's prominent politicians and community leaders, received frequent coverage by most newspapers in the state, and secured the editorial support of several prominent newspapers, including the *Milwaukee Leader,* the *Milwaukee Journal,* and the *Wisconsin State Journal.* The suffragists took these successes as portents that they would also win the popular support they needed to pass the referendum. Here, however, they were in for a crushing disappointment. The referendum was defeated, with nearly two-thirds of the vote opposing it. It would seem that media coverage in this case: failed to educate the public in the way the suffragists hoped; had no effect on the public's voting behavior; or in no sense reflected the real "success" (or lack of success) of the movement.

This study focuses on coverage of the Woman Suffrage movement by Wisconsin's largest circulation newspaper, the *Milwaukee Journal,* from January 1911, when suffrage was introduced in the state legislature, to November 1912, when the referendum was defeated.[2] When the *Journal's* coverage is considered in tandem with documents from the suffragists, a curious state of affairs is revealed:

(1) Although the suffragists were pouring enormous amounts of energy into soliciting press coverage and support and *believed they were getting it,* this was not reflected in the pages of the *Journal.*

(2) Although the suffragists believed the *Journal* endorsed the

referendum, this, once again, was not reflected in the newspaper after its initial support. The usually outspoken *Journal*, in fact, adopted an oddly noncommittal position on the issue.

(3) As suffrage activities escalated, contrary to most theories of social movement and the press, coverage in the *Journal* *did not increase*.[3] There seems to be absolutely no relation between what and how much the suffragists were doing and how many stories appeared in the newspaper.

(4) There appears to be no consistency in the newspaper's tone toward suffrage. Stories and editorial page items that might be classified as positive toward the movement could just as easily be followed by negative items of dubious origin.

Sources for this study include documents and correspondence of the Political Equality League, a Wisconsin suffrage organization formed in 1911 for the express purpose of winning passage of the referendum.

Woman Suffrage in Wisconsin: An Historical Overview

Wisconsin suffragists organized on a statewide level in 1882 under the leadership of the Rev. Olympia Brown. Although Brown succeeded in winning statewide suffrage for women in school board elections, attempts over the years to get the state legislature to approve a constitutional amendment granting woman suffrage repeatedly failed. By 1910, membership in the Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association (WWSA) had shrunk to seventy; many of the members were of the aging "first generation" of feminists, and were perceived by younger suffragists as incapable of running an active campaign.[4]

In February 1911, Sen. David G. James of Richland Center proposed a suffrage bill that, if approved in the legislature, would put the issue before the voters in a referendum.[5] James was the widower of a suffragist, was a suffragist himself, and was the father of Ada Lois James, who became a leading figure in the fight to win the referendum. A classic struggle followed in which the younger generation of suffragists attempted to wrest power from the older, but Olympia Brown was adamant about maintaining her control over the WWSA and her cohorts remained loyal. In April, less than a month before the bill won approval in the legislature, the dissenters formed a new organization, the Political Equality League (PEL), with Ada James as its president.[6]

From the beginning, the PEL distinguished itself from the WWSA by its energy and organizational tactics. Within months it had established an active press committee that began cranking out a steady stream of correspondence to members, supporters (both actual and potential), and the press. The split with the WWSA had its price, however, and both the PEL and the WWSA lost precious time and energy competing for recognition and financial and political support. Furthermore, the dissent was picked up in the press, with the suffragists being cast in the role of squabbling housewives (or old maids) rather than what they were -- rivaling factions of legitimate organizations.[7]

Despite the rivalry, James succeeded in organizing a highly visible campaign that sought to win support at all levels -- from the press, politicians, community leaders with "name recognition," organizations as varied as the Hardware Dealers Association and the German-American Alliance, the schools, and the churches. Last but not least, they appealed directly to the voting men by speaking at state fairs, on street corners, and in public meetings. They organized auto tours (when they could find someone to lend them a car and a "mechanic" to drive it) and festooned the trollies in Milwaukee with advertisements and yellow suffrage ribbons.

Though they never went to the lengths of their British sisters, who at this time were storming Parliament and being thrown into jail for rioting, the women of the PEL were going far beyond the customary accepted roles of proper middle-class women in middle America. And while they were out "making fools of themselves," Brown and the WWSA kept a low profile with Brown counseling suffragists to keep to themselves and not arouse the opposition. Her strategy, she told James, would be to wait until a few weeks before the election and then present the suffrage idea to the voters.[8]

Brown's warning appears to have been vindicated, first in spring of 1911, when anti-suffragists organized in Madison to counter the suffrage propaganda,[9] and then in September 1911, when the Wisconsin branch of the German-American Alliance, with more than 600,000 members, declared its opposition to the referendum. The suffragists already saw the Germans as their main opponents but had hoped to somehow convert them. Once the Alliance declared against them, they became convinced that it was backed by their other mortal enemy, the brewing industry, which controlled one of the biggest industries in the state. The brewers had opposed the suffrage for years, convinced that once women got the vote, they would vote for prohibition and put the beer industry out of business.[10]

By fall of 1911 the sides were clearly declared and the suffragists, despite their vigorous campaign, claims of making headway, and predictions of success, failed to budge their opponents. In November 1912, the suffrage referendum was soundly defeated by the male voters of the state 227,054 to 135,736.[11]

The Wisconsin Press and the *Milwaukee Journal*

Newspapering was a prolific industry in Wisconsin in 1911, with 678 newspapers and periodicals published in 387 communities throughout the state. Of these, 63 were dailies and 531 were weeklies; circulation in newspapers ranged from 108,166 for the weekly *Germania* to under 1,000 for many small-town weeklies. Many of these newspapers, especially the weeklies, were in the German language; there were also newspapers published in Polish, Norwegian, and Swedish.[12]

In Milwaukee alone, 69 publications were issued; of these, nine were dailies, the largest being *the Milwaukee Journal*, with a circulation of 64,627. Established in 1882, the *Journal* was an independent newspaper with a progressive bent. It frequently crusaded for political candidates, parties, and programs that it claimed would clean up the city, the state, and the country. It yearly proclaimed its dedication to "serving the people" and devoted ample news and editorial space to the issues it supported or opposed. In 1911 it campaigned to rid Milwaukee of its Socialist government and in 1912 it campaigned against President Taft's "corrupt" government and, after Senator Bob La Follette failed to win the presidential nomination, endorsed Woodrow Wilson as the only man who could put the country back on its path toward progress.[13]

The average edition of the *Journal* was from 16-20 pages and offered, in addition to its news pages, a sports page, a page labeled "Of Interest To The Women," a page dedicated to farming interests, a "workers'" page, and an editorial page. Although it later became renowned for its photography staff, the *Journal* in 1912 was a pretty grey affair with columns of type jammed onto the page tombstone-fashion with the largest stories at the top and the smallest at the bottom, with the type becoming progressively smaller as it got closer to the bottom of the page. It was not uncommon for the front page of the newspaper to carry more than thirty individual stories, some of which were long enough to be continued on inside pages, but many of which filled only two or three column inches.

The editorial page was likewise crammed with as much material as possible. It included: two or three unsigned editorials, usually political in nature; occasional political cartoons; up to a dozen one-liners, brief snippets on events or issues of current interest; comment on items from the state press; a column called "Oddities From the World Today," which consisted largely of excerpts from bizarre news stories; and "entertainment" items such as poems, fables, jokes, and humorous cartoons.

Method

The *Milwaukee Journal* was chosen for this project because of its status as the largest-circulation daily newspaper in the state's largest city and therefore arguably the most influential in the state. Because the time period studied covered twenty-two months, and therefore more than 600 editions of the *Journal*, it was decided to limit analysis of the newspaper to its front page and its editorial page.

The front page was chosen because it would, by virtue of accepted newspaper practice, carry those stories judged by news professionals to be most "newsworthy." This decision could be criticized from the position that suffrage news very often appeared on the women's pages or in columns labelled "Clubs and Societies," or "Social News," just as sixty years later stories on the feminist movement were pushed to the back of the paper in the women's section. It has been argued on the one hand that this practice had a positive effect in that it guaranteed access for stories on women's issues and allowed readers to know where to look for those stories. But it has also been argued that in the case of both suffrage and the later feminist movement, segregating women's stories to the women's section also had the affect of removing the news from the attention of those readers that suffragists and feminists alike were trying to influence -- male readers. This was especially so in the case of the suffragists who, after all, had to convince male voters in their favor. By putting suffrage stories on the women's pages, they might inform their own community or make female converts, but it was hardly likely that Wisconsin men in 1912 would turn to a page clearly marked "Of Interest to the Women" that was most often dominated by news on fashion and society events. With this in mind, the first page of the newspaper was chosen for analysis because it would be more representative of the news viewed by both male and female readers.[14]

The editorial page was also chosen for analysis because it was here, in theory, that the newspaper's editors would express their views freely. It was also on the editorial page that prevalent and controversial ideas would come under debate in the form of signed and unsigned editorials, excerpts from other newspapers, and letters to the editor.

Each front page was scanned for headlines and content about woman suffrage, women voting, suffragists, anti-suffragists, or elections involving women. News items were separated into four categories based on how they dealt with suffrage (women voting, etc.) as an issue. They were sorted in terms of whether they: (1) reported on *ideas* about woman suffrage (2) reported on *events or facts*; (3) merely served as *announcements* for suffrage events; or (4) merely *mentioned* suffrage, or the word suffrage, women's voting, etc. in passing while the subject of the story was something else entirely.[15] Each item was then coded for a variety of characteristics that, according to journalistic practice would signal the "importance" of the item. These characteristics included: the story's dateline (Wisconsin, one of the other states in the country, outside the United States); the size of the story (less than three inches, three inches to a half column, more than half a column); and the story's location on the page (above or below the fold).

Items on the editorial page that referred to suffrage, instead, were sorted into four types: (1) editorials; (2) state press or out-of-state items; (3) cartoons or photographs, which always included some written content; and (4) one-liners or jokes. Each of these categories was then broken down into three cells which identified the item as positive (toward suffrage), negative or neutral/unclear.[16]

Findings

Studies of the relation between social movements and the press generally find that because social movements are considered by the dominant society and its mainstream press as "fringe" or "deviant" groups, they must struggle to gain media attention. Social movements and social movement organizations are covered only when they escalate their actions to include newsworthy (unusual, new, or violent) behavior,[17] when they or their claims are perceived by the press (and therefore the larger society) as legitimate,[18] and when they put forward spokesmen who are recognized by the dominant group and are therefore recognized as "newsworthy" sources of information.[19] In the case of the woman suffrage movement in

Wisconsin, therefore, we would expect that as the PEL revved up its propaganda machine, lined up an impressive team of respectable supporters, and got out on the street corners to attract attention, press coverage would have increased.

This analysis of the *Milwaukee Journal*, however, shows this not to be the case. After a brief peak of interest when the suffrage amendment was being debated in the legislature in March and April of 1911, the number of stories fell off dramatically. While the content of the correspondence of the PEL during the next nineteen months of the campaign were full of the suffragists' strategies for and claims of success in winning the press's support, this success was in no way reflected in the pages of the state's largest paper. (See appendixes A, B, and C.)

In the twenty-two months of the campaign, for example, approximately 18,000 news items appeared on the front page, yet only 116, or .64 percent of those items made any mention of woman suffrage or women's voting status. The greatest number of items (seventeen) appeared in March 1911, when the amendment was being debated in the state legislature and when suffragists were actively lobbying in the state house. Of those stories, the majority (eleven) carried Wisconsin datelines; of these, however, several reported not on the referendum, but on a ruling that allowed women to vote in the upcoming Milwaukee school primary elections.[20] Nevertheless, this modest surge in local interest spilled over to national suffrage news and stories also appeared about suffrage activities in Illinois and Nevada, where similar bills were being considered, and women voting in Washington, where they had just won the ballot. The majority of page one stories to appear in March 1911 (seven) were shorter than three inches and only four were longer than half a column. The stories were placed equally above and below the fold.[21] The editorial page reflects the same pattern. In March 1911, sixteen items, the majority of them (ten) one-liners, appeared that made mention of women voting or woman suffrage. Many of these poked fun at women in general and woman suffrage in particular as did the following example that appeared on March 4:

> Out of 15,000,000 women it has been estimated that twenty-three are dying to vote and all the rest are dying for a new hat. Our legislators should appropriate accordingly.

On March 16, the day after some 8,000 Milwaukee women registered for the primaries (in which they would be allowed to vote on the Milwaukee school bond issue and school board), a three-column cartoon appeared on the editorial page. It shows a bearded fatherly figure in spats and ascot sitting on a bench with his arms around two society matrons. "Girls, I didn't suppose you'd do so well," say the words in the balloon over his head. (See Appendix D.) No further cartoons and no editorials on suffrage appeared at all in this month, at a time when the amendment was under debate by the legislature.

In April, when the controversy between Olympia Brown of the WWSA and the younger suffragists resulted in their breaking away and founding the PEL, the number of news items on page one dropped to sixteen and the number of items on the editorial page dropped to ten. And in the following month, May, when the state assembly passed the bill after further lobbying on the part of suffrage supporters, there was only one news story on page one. This story, accompanied by a photo, reported (inaccurately) that Emma De Voe, a Washington suffragist was to be the head of the state suffragists.[22] In that same month, there were just two items on the editorial page, both of them one-liners, both of them negative, as can be seen in the following sample from May 18:

> The man with a suffrage wife is going to have a disagreeable time of it in the next two years. the "votes for women" bill with its referendum clause, has passed.

As can be seen from the graph in Appendix A, the number of items on the *Journal's* front page and editorial page remained low throughout the next eighteen months. In September 1911, after a summer during which the suffragists had covered the state with auto tours (at a time when automobiles were still a novelty on the dirt roads of much of Wisconsin) and speaking engagements at the numerous county fairs, there was a slight increase in stories on the movement with seven stories on the news page, including a page wide banner cartoon on September 13 announcing "Women Have Their Way At the State Fair." The cartoon contained six panels that depicted women in their various roles: "The Woman in the Home," "The Woman Who Works," "The Woman on the Farm," "Women and Newspapers," "The Fine Art of Living," and "Woman and the Ballot." Directly below this banner is a full-column story, "Women are Heard," describing the first woman's day program at the annual fair, and including a paragraph listing the names of those speaking on "Why Wisconsin Women Should Vote." Earlier in the month, a September 4 story headlined "German Alliance Does Not Worry the Suffragists" reported on the suffragists' public reactions to the news that the Alliance had come out in opposition to the referendum. (This public stance was far from the dismay expressed privately among suffragists.) The story occupied a full column placed prominently at the center of the page with large multiple headlines. In the same month, only three brief items appeared on the editorial page, none of them addressing the Alliance's position.

In October 1911, by which time the PEL had arranged with eighty state newspapers to exchange copies of the local papers with copies of the national suffrage organ the *Woman's Journal,* coverage in the *Journal* dropped to just two stories. Neither of these reported on events in Wisconsin. The first reported the decision of Boston suffragists to take part in the Massachusetts 1912 election campaign, the second reported (incorrectly) the defeat of a woman suffrage amendment in the California election. (The success of the California amendment was not reported until two days later on an inside page.)[23] In this month the number of editorial page items instead leaped to eleven with one of these on October 21 an editorial entitled "Freedom for Women" that started out promisingly enough but soon became a comment on women's fashions rather than woman's franchise:

> It is assumed that if the ballot shall be granted to women they will be able to escape from the tyranny imposed upon them by men and establish and maintain a freedom which they do not now possess. When the negro slaves were emancipated, they were enfranchised so that

> might be able to assert and maintain the rights which they had obtained "as a consequence" of the civil war. It has developed, however, that the granting of the franchise to a dependent race does not insure to it equal or superior political power to the race which holds it in economic subjection and exploits its labor. The granting of the ballot to women will not necessarily secure to women workers or to women as a sex any rights or privileges which they do not now possess. It will make them free. They may have the ballot and yet remain enslaved by men. It required a minister of the gospel to remind us that the slavery imposed upon women is not so much by the act of the legislature as by French tailors... It is a sad commentary upon our citizenship when the women permit themselves to be exploited and enslaved by the men milliners and tailors... Conventionality binds them more securely than the slave was bound to his master...

The number of news stories to appear monthly remained low for the remainder of the campaign. The only month after April 1911 that the number of news stories rose to more than ten was in March 1912, when British suffragists, tired of waiting for the Parliament to take action on their petitions for the ballot, burst into the news with their violent protests and subsequent arrests. They lay siege on the parliament, breaking windows with bricks and setting fire to letter boxes. "Women Crave Bloodshed in War for Vote," announced a March 4 headline over a full-column story in the right-hand column. "No Favors for Violent Women" announced another on a March 6 story that reported the prison sentences meted out to the women. An editorial on the same day took advantage of the events in London to scold women for behaving in an unseemly and unladylike fashion in regard to the suffrage question. While the editorial criticized the behavior of the British women on one hand ("The rioting by suffragettes in London is a disgrace to civilization and particularly to womankind."), on the other hand, it defended the character of a local suffragist who had been attacked in a rival

Milwaukee paper in a "course and vulgar manner." The editorial chided the newspaper for its "lack of respect" and called for harmony and civilized debate.

Even in the last few months leading up to the November election, when the PEL was in a frenzy of organizing, speechmaking, and propaganda writing, the *Journal* coverage remained modest, with only three news items and one editorial page item appearing in October and just seven news items and one editorial item appearing in November.

As Kessler found in her study of the Portland *Oregonian's* coverage of suffrage, stories reporting on ideas are the least likely to appear and, in fact, of the 116 news items that appeared in the twenty-two months of this study, only eleven entered into discussion of what the suffrage might mean to women or society, and only briefly at that. The great majority of the stories (seventy-eight) reported events while the remaining items were equally divided between those that reported announcements on suffrage and those that made mere mention of the term. The majority of the stories during the period had a Wisconsin dateline (sixty-four), while forty had U.S. datelines, most of which originated in states which were likewise considering a suffrage amendment. Twelve stories had foreign datelines, most of which were about the British suffragists.

The size of an article may be another way of lending it legitimacy as well as credibility. As has already been mentioned, the front page of the *Journal* was very busy indeed, with sometimes as many as thirty items on a page. Since some of these items were photos or cartoons, this meant that many of the stories, especially those on the bottom half of the page, were perforce squeezed into very little space. Only twenty-eight of the 116 items on suffrage (some of them photographs or editorial cartoons) were longer than a half column; fifty-one were between three inches and a half-column long and thirty-seven were three inches or shorter. In the cases of these smaller stories, the "story" often consisted of a headline and a paragraph that repeated the information already given in the headline. Sometimes these stories were given fuller play on the inside pages of the newspaper, but since references ("See Page 3 For Related Story") were not used, there was no way of telling this if the reader didn't open the newspaper to look for the story.

Stories toward the top of the page, "above the fold" are rated by newspaper professionals as more important than those placed below the fold. In the case of the stories examined here, sixty were located above the fold and fifty-six below. Those below the fold were usually shorter than those above the fold, and were often set in smaller type, making them difficult to read.

As for content of the editorial page, although the *Journal* was considered progressive on most issues, it displayed a puzzling attitude toward suffrage, first expressing support through editorial columns and cartoons and then remaining largely silent for the remainder of the campaign. In the twenty-two month period, eighty-seven items mentioning suffrage appeared on the editorial page, but the majority of these (fifty-seven) were jokes and one liners, with thirty-three falling into the neutral/unclear category and seventeen fitting the negative category. Eleven editorials treating suffrage were published during this period, but many of those were directed at women to register and vote on the school bond issue during spring and fall of 1911, and only three can be said to be pro-suffrage. Suffrage editorials appeared sporadically throughout the campaign and, in the last five months, none at all appeared until a few days before the election. These last were enigmatic at best. On November 2, a puzzling editorial, "The Constitutional Amendments," appeared across three columns at the top of the page. It merely summarized the four amendments being proposed in the election without giving any opinion or endorsement. Here is how it treated the suffrage amendment:

> Probably the most important of the proposed amendments is that according full rights of franchise to women. It is not our purpose to discuss the advisability of such change. That question has been the subject of debate for half a century. We urge now, on the verge of election, that every voter review the reasons for and against it and reach a conclusion to the end that the real sense of the community may be expressed by this election and not be defeated by the activities of a small fraction of the people either for or against it. The vote on this question is to be cast upon a separate paper ballot and not by means of the voting machine.

Three days later a second editorial appeared "in answer to a flood of questions" and explained in detail the mechanics of the suffrage referendum and what would happen if it passed. Once again, the *Journal* took no position on the issue. In view of its treatment of other issues, one concludes that if, indeed, the newspaper had supported suffrage, it would have spread its opinion across the editorial page as it had done amply in the case of its endorsement of Wilson, its condemnation of Taft, and its crusade against the Socialist administration of Milwaukee the previous spring.

Conclusions

It is difficult to calculate the effect of the press in general and the *Milwaukee Journal* in particular upon the Wisconsin woman suffrage referendum in 1912. The referendum was defeated not only in Milwaukee, where the majority of the newspapers either opposed it or took a neutral position, but also in cities like Madison, where the leading newspaper, the ***Wisconsin State Journal***, took an extremely active role in supporting the campaign. Wisconsin never did get woman suffrage through popular election, in fact, and it was not until 1919, when the state legislature ratified the national constitutional amendment, that women in the state finally got the ballot. As has been illustrated by this analysis, the actions of the suffrage movement seemed to have had little affect on the coverage by the Milwaukee *Journal*. The more the PEL tried to win press coverage, in fact, the less interested the *Journal* appears to have been in covering it.

One thing that is certain is that the PEL organizers firmly believed the key to success lay in access to the press and publicity. "It's useless to try organizing quietly," wrote one suffragist in response to Olympia Brown's advice to lay low until right before the election. "Besides, publicity is absolutely necessary to success these days."[24]

The PEL organizers worked ceaselessly to line up press coverage and support and heralded it as a coup every time editors expressed support or the willingness to place suffrage material in their publications.[25] There is no indication, however, that in this particular campaign the suffragists succeeded in making new converts among the state's newspapers. Most of the papers or individual editors that supported them during the campaign had expressed that support at the very beginning. Most of those that opposed them continued to oppose them.[26] But what remains a puzzle after this analysis is why the *Milwaukee Journal*, after initially adopting a pro-suffrage stance, *backed off until, in the last months of the campaign, it was virtually impossible to understand what its position was.* The *Wisconsin State Journal*, in contrast, remained adamantly pro-suffrage throughout the campaign, with pro-suffrage editorials appearing up to the last day before the election.[27]

This is all the more puzzling because the *Milwaukee Journal* traditionally supported what have become identified as "progressive" issues -- municipal reform, direct senatorial election, recall -- and often supported or provided a sympathetic position toward reform issues in general. It followed this pattern in the early months of the suffrage campaign, but then, by summer of 1911 shifted to a far more neutral and, at times, negative position. As the campaign progressed, the *Journal* became increasingly *silent* on the issue; such a silence could easily have been interpreted as opposition.

It might be argued that in shifting to a neutral position, the *Journal* was actually living up to the standard of journalistic objectivity that was just then being promoted as a professional ideal for newspapers. If so, this was highly selective objectivity, for the *Journal* was hardly objective in its campaigns against the Socialist government in Milwaukee in 1911 and its reporting on various local and national political figures throughout this period. This neutral-to-negative stance, on the other hand, might be interpreted as a manifestation of the general tendency of the press to reflect the standards and values of the dominant social ideology that has been identified by cultural and critical analysts.[28] Although Wisconsin's government and political leadership in 1912 might have been largely progressive, its economic institutions and some of its citizens were deeply conservative in many respects; such a stance did not necessarily welcome the political emancipation of women. Indeed, even when we look at the pages of some of the more consistently pro-suffrage newspapers such as the *Wisconsin State Journal*, we see reflections of the traditional view that placed woman in the home as daughter, wife, and mother and frequently trivialized her attempts to gain access to the political, professional, and economic sectors.

Such world views are established through a multiplicity of means, cumulatively and over long periods of time; they rarely appear suddenly and they are difficult to shift. So how can the *sudden shift* observed in the *Milwaukee Journal's* position on the woman suffrage amendment be explained? Why did it occur at this particular (and crucial) time? It must be noted that while this shift from positive to neutral/negative clearly brought the newspaper more into line with the dominating conservative attitude so clearly present in Milwaukee's business community and in its Catholic and German communities, it *also brought it more into line with a position that the beer and liquor industries would have considered acceptable*. In fact, this shift occurred during exactly the same period that the German-American Alliance was organizing to announce its opposition to the referendum. While the timing of these two events might be purely circumstantial, their concurrence might, instead, point to a somewhat more direct connection.

Elsewhere it has been shown that the German-American Alliance was financially backed by the brewing industry and that the brewers had for years funded opposition to woman suffrage in the belief that once women got the vote they would vote for prohibition and put the brewers out of business. Records of the United States Brewers Association seized in 1919 by the government for a Senate investigation showed that among other things, the brewers had been using the press in its campaign against suffrage by planting its own articles and letters, buying news and editorial columns, bribing editors, and placing or withholding advertising as a means of controlling press opinion.[29]

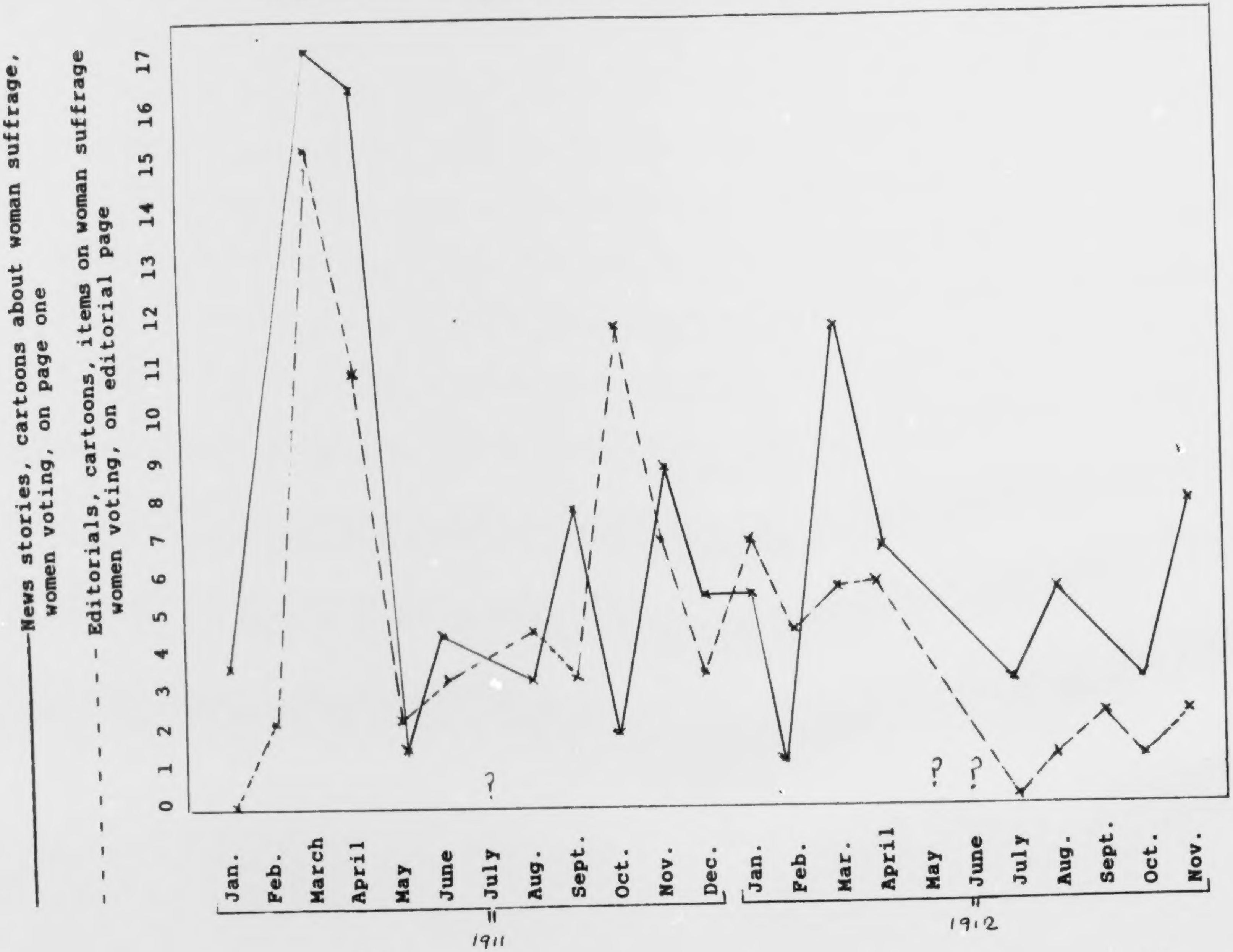
As most newspapers have done since the time of the American Revolution, the *Journal* boasted of its political independence and freedom from influence. But it is also true that at this time the beer industry provided a hearty chunk of its advertising revenue.

It is not too far-fetched to consider the possibility that the brewers brought pressure on the newspaper to change its editorial position, or at least to be more neutral in its approach to the suffrage. It might simply have became too costly for the *Journal*, despite its traditional progressive role, to adopt a pro-suffrage stance in a city whose largest ethnic group was German and whose biggest industry was the breweries.[30]

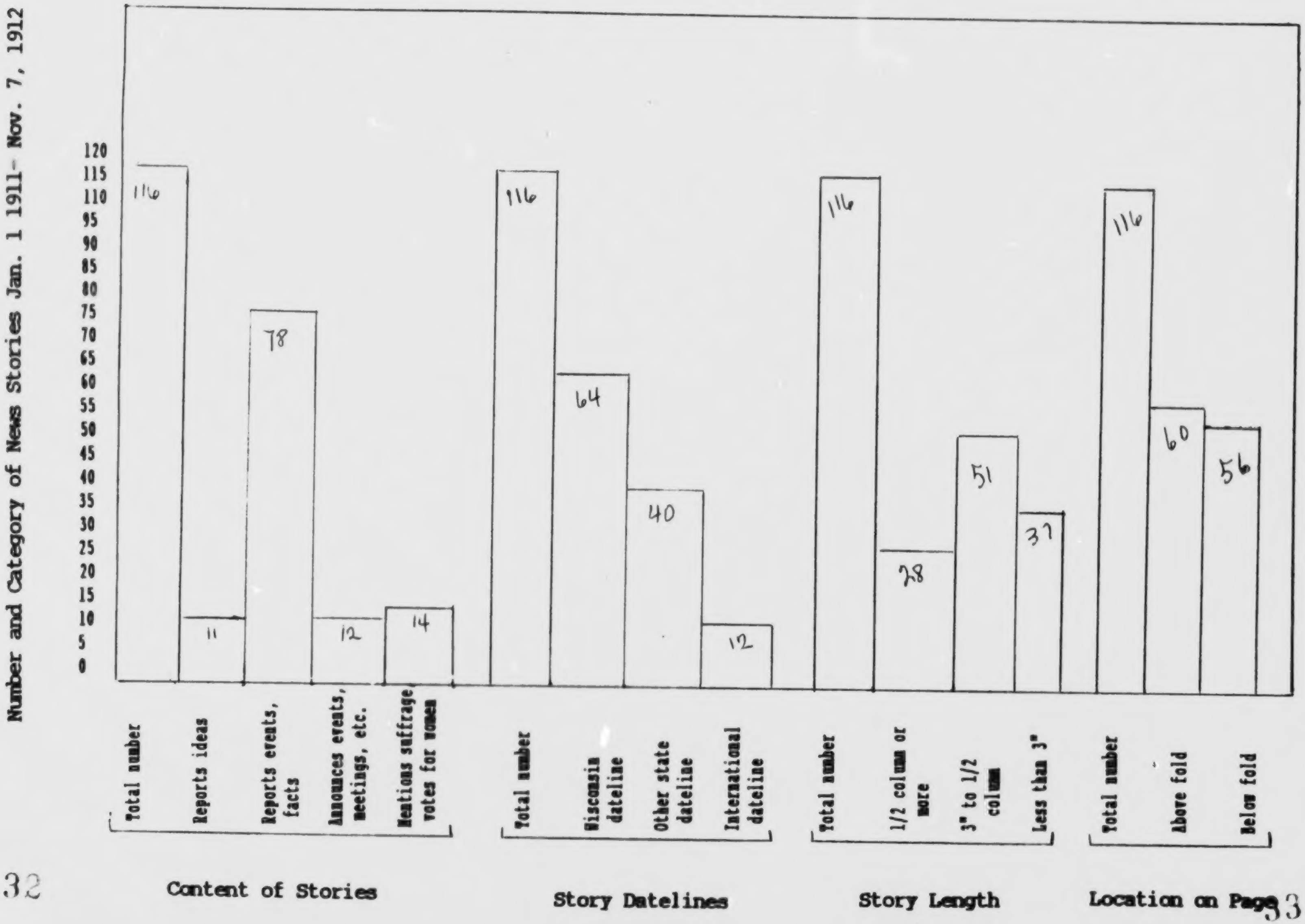
***

This analysis is part of a larger project examining the relation among the woman suffrage movement, the liquor industry, and the press. Much work remains to be done in examining the dynamics of the suffrage movement and its strategies for influencing the press and opinion as well as its interaction with the special interest group representing the liquor industry. This particular study suggests several areas for further investigation. One promising avenue would be an analysis of the *Journal's* records in an attempt to establish: what percent of the newspaper's revenue came from the beer and liquor industries; whether there was any change in that revenue or the frequency of liquor and beer advertisements during the suffrage campaign; what the *Journal's* connections to the beer industry and the German-American community might have been. It might also be fruitful to expand the sample to include the entire newspaper; as has been noted, many of the stories on suffrage often appeared on the women's page. It would also be useful to do a comparative analysis of the ***Milwaukee Journal*** and the ***Wisconsin State Journal*** to see if the observation that the latter paper remained adamantly pro-suffrage throughout its pages and throughout the campaign is accurate when placed under the fine lens of analysis.

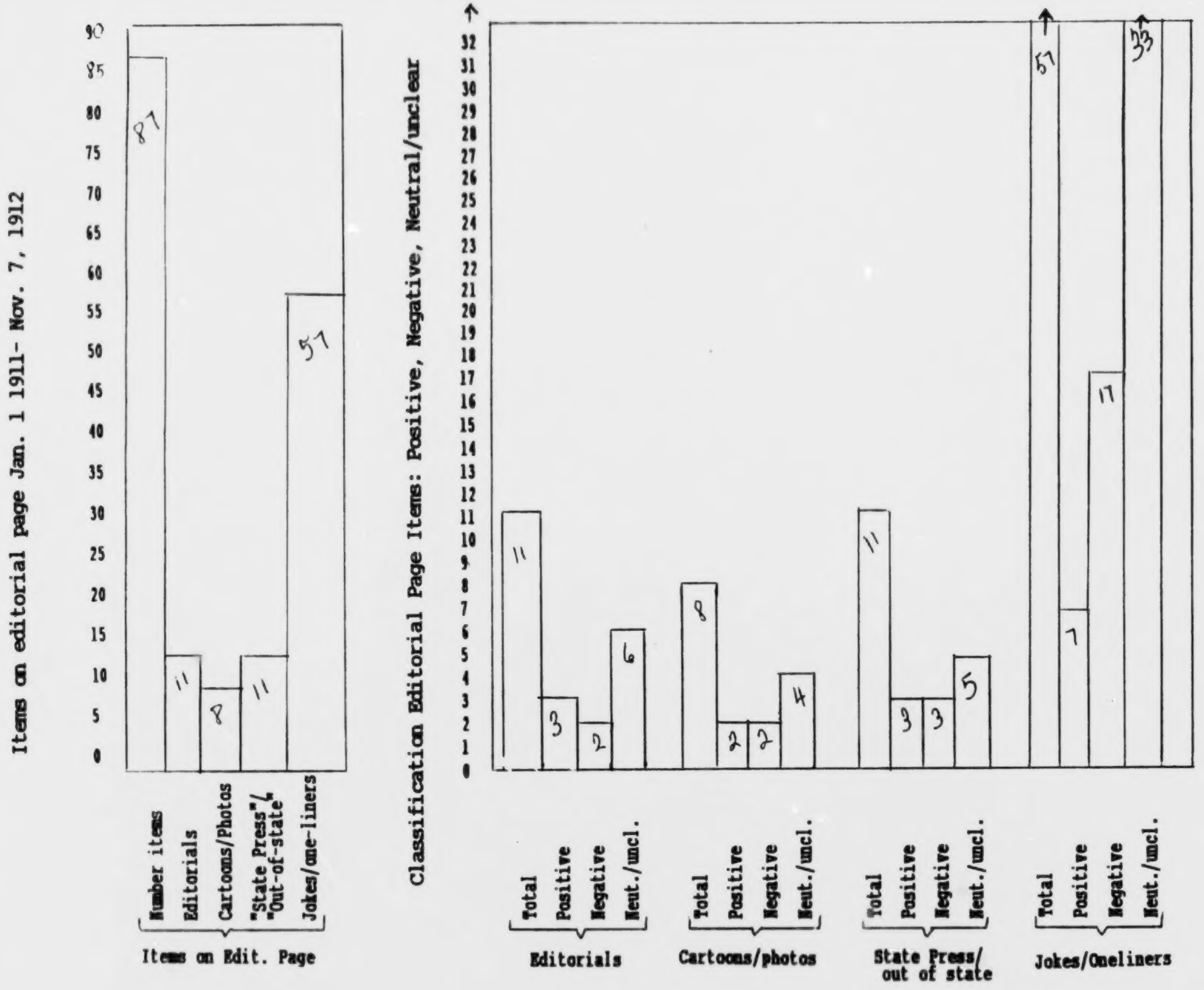
APPENDIX A: Number of items on woman suffrage, women voting appearing in the *Milwaukee Journal* page one and editorial page Jan. 1, 1911- Nov. 7, 1912



APPPENDIX B: Stories about woman suffrage, women and votes appearing on page one of the *Milwaukee Journal* , January 1911- November 7, 1912



APPENDIX C: Number and categories of items on woman suffrage, women voting in the *Milwaukee Journal* on the editorial page Jan. 1, 1911- Nov. 7, 1912



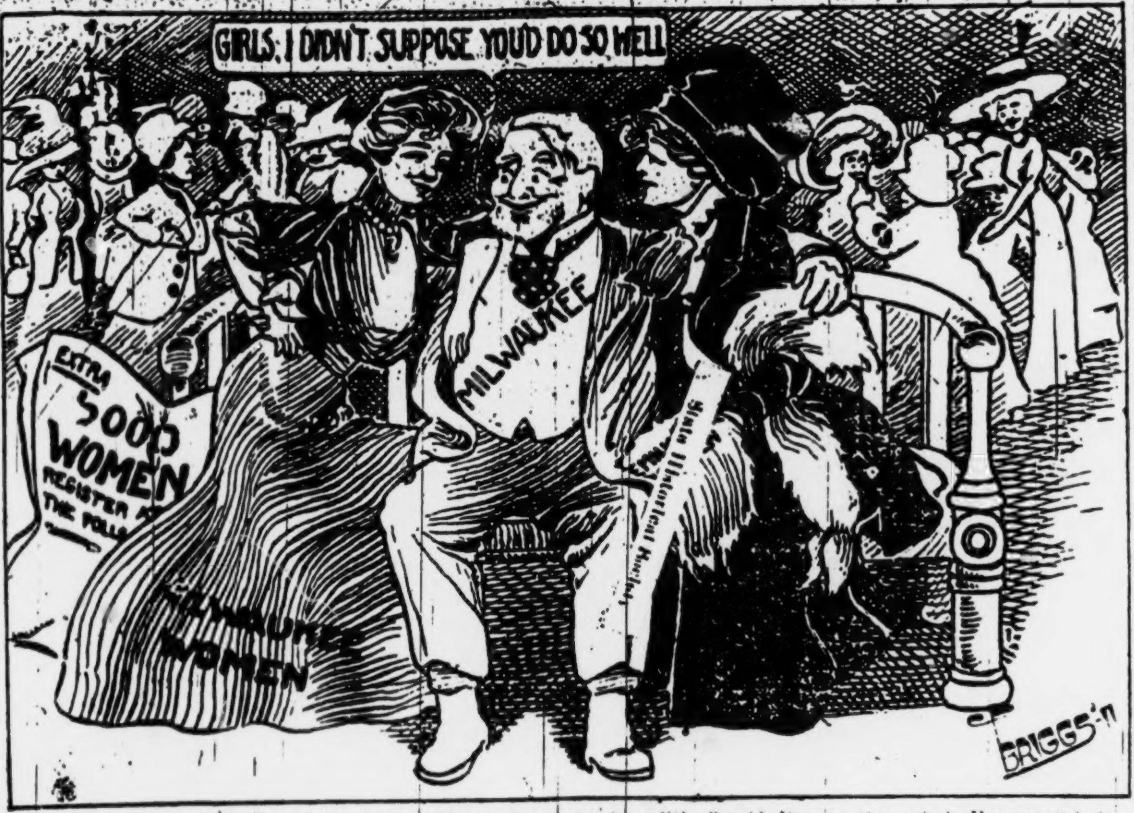
Appendix D

ILWAUKEE JOU

THE JOURNAL GOES TO OVER SIXTY PER CENT OF MILWAUKEE HOMES

THURSDAY, MARCH 16, 1911

BETTER THAN HE EXPECTED

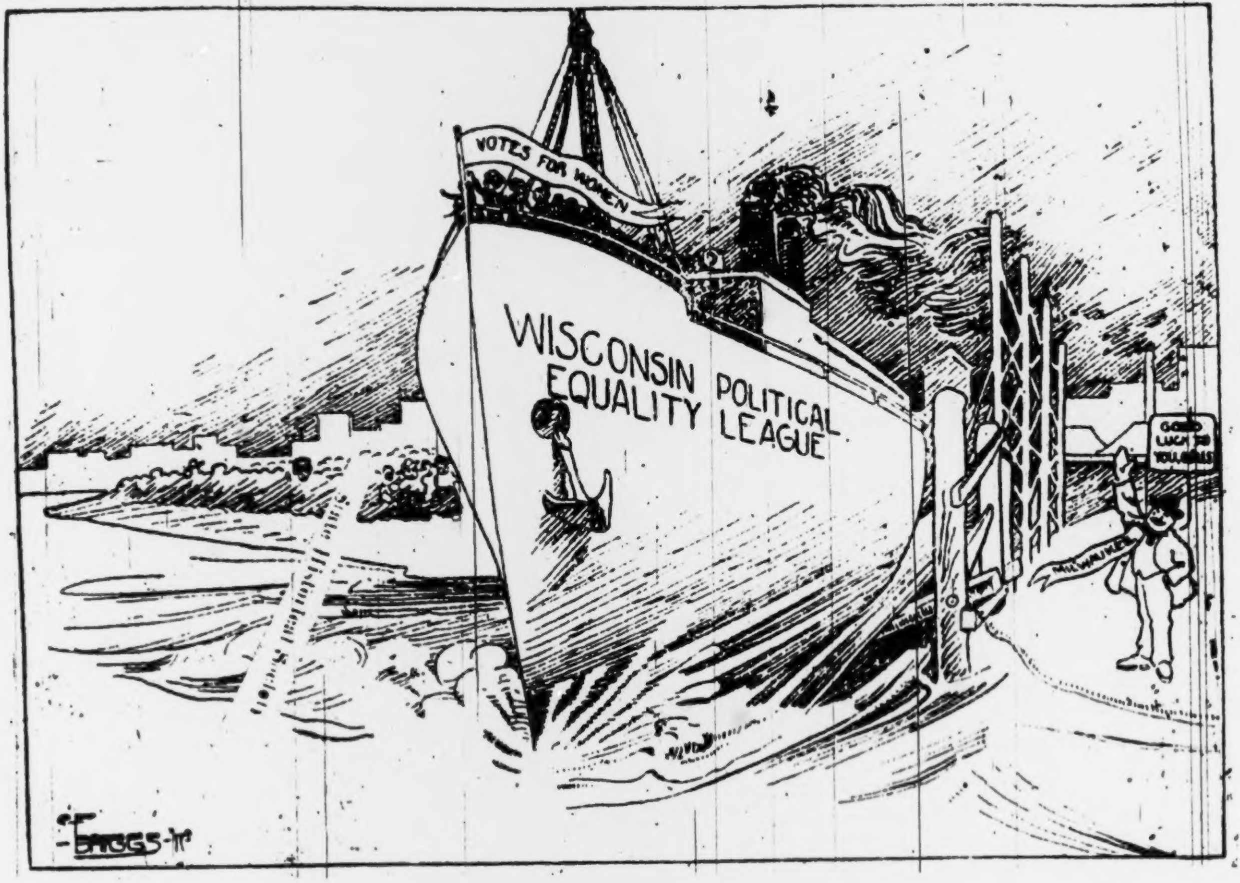

GIRLS: I DIDN'T SUPPOSE YOU'D DO SO WELL
EXTRA 5000 WOMEN REGISTER AT THE POLLS
MILWAUKEE
MILWAUKEE WOMEN
State Historical Society
BRIGGS-'11

"Milwaukee women are showing an increased interest in politics," said Deputy City Clerk Herman Schultz when he began looking over the registration returns. The totals will likely show that about 5,000 women registered Tuesday. Mr. Schultz has been making election matters a specialty for many years, but he had not expected so many of the fair ones to turn out. "They certainly surprised me," he said.

The Milwaukee Journal
March 16, 1911 p. 1

Appendix E

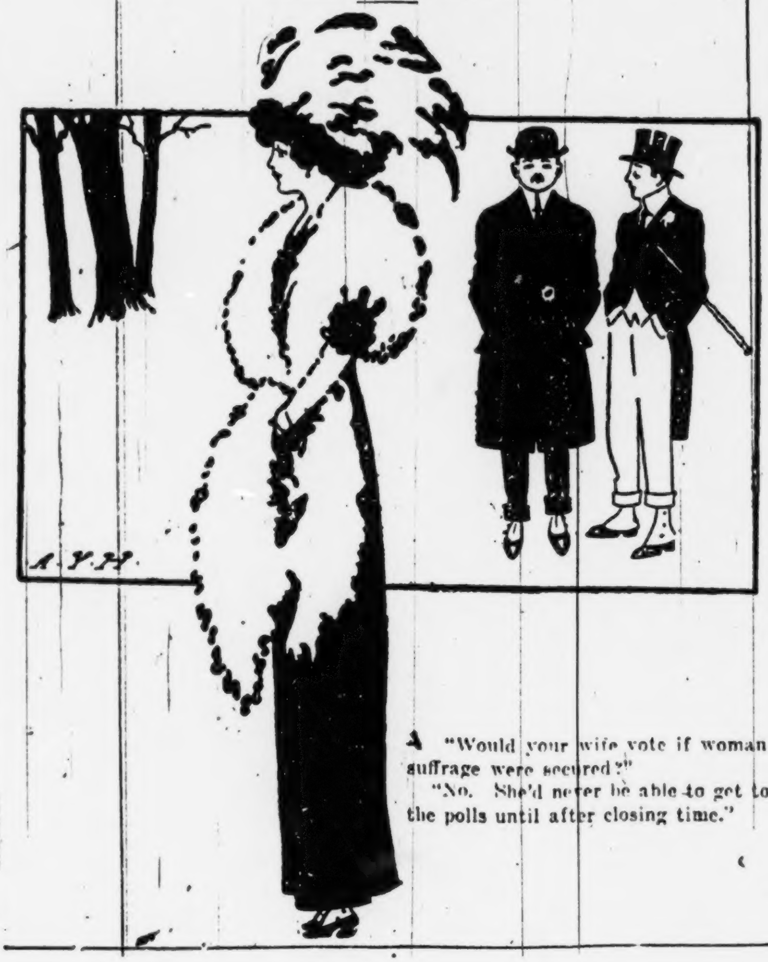
THE LAUNCHING OF THE SHIP


VOTES FOR WOMEN
WISCONSIN POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAGUE
GOOD LUCK TO YOU GIRLS
MILWAUKEE
BRIGGS

The Milwaukee Journal
April 11, 1911 p.1

APPENDIX F

A FOREGONE CONCLUSION.



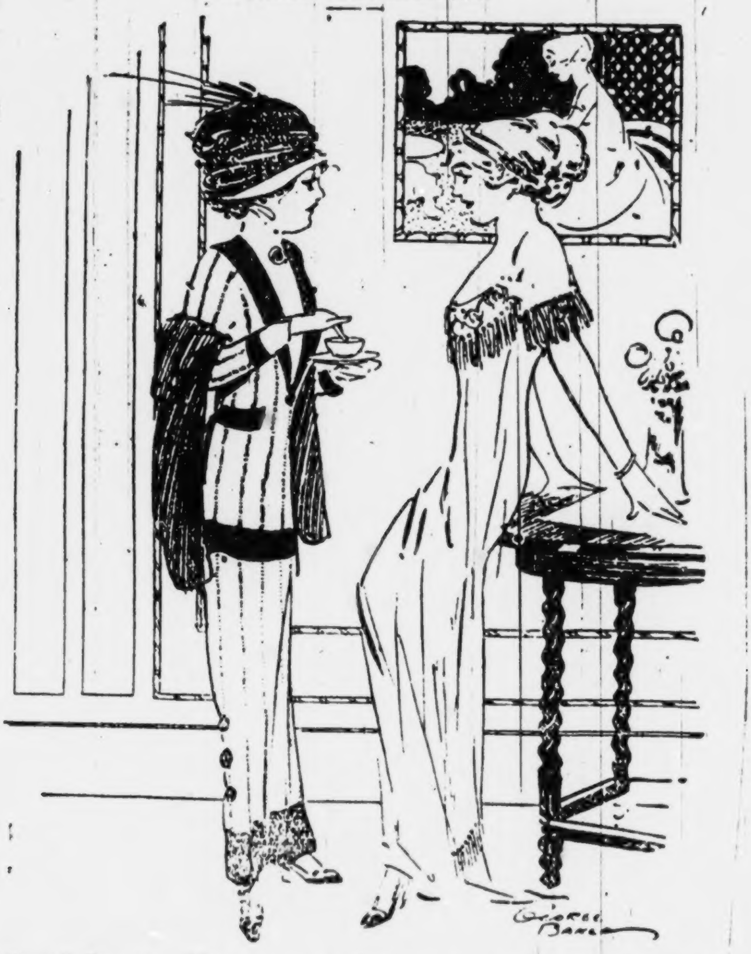
A "Would your wife vote if woman suffrage were secured?"

"No. She'd never be able to get to the polls until after closing time."

The Milwaukee Journal
Feb 3, 1912 p.6

APPENDIX G

A CANDID DECLARATION.

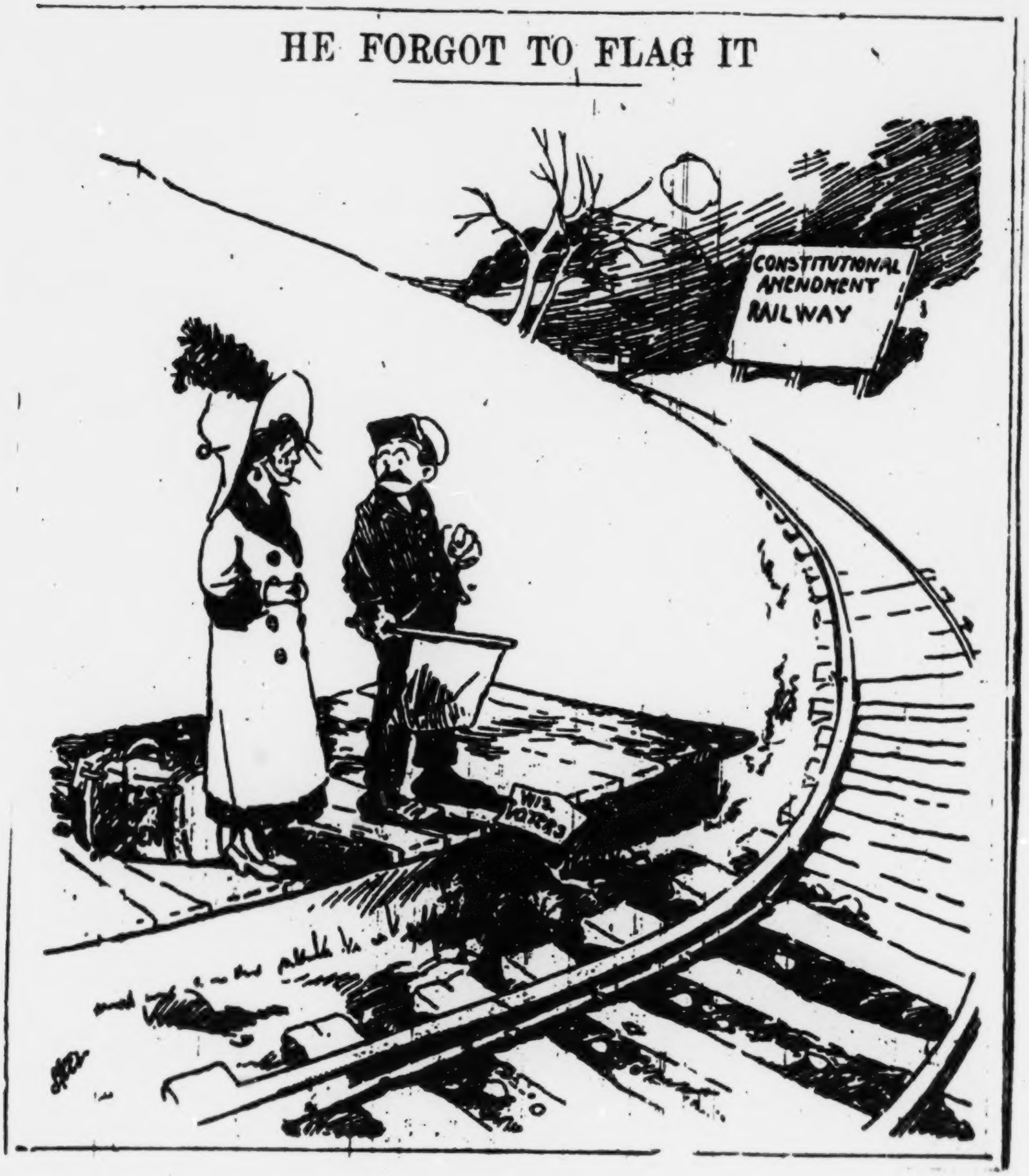


First Suffragette—What sort of a ticket does your suffragette club favor?

Second Suffragette—Well, if we owned right up, I think most of us would prefer matinee tickets.

The Milwaukee Journal
Feb. 16, 1912 p. 10

Appendix H



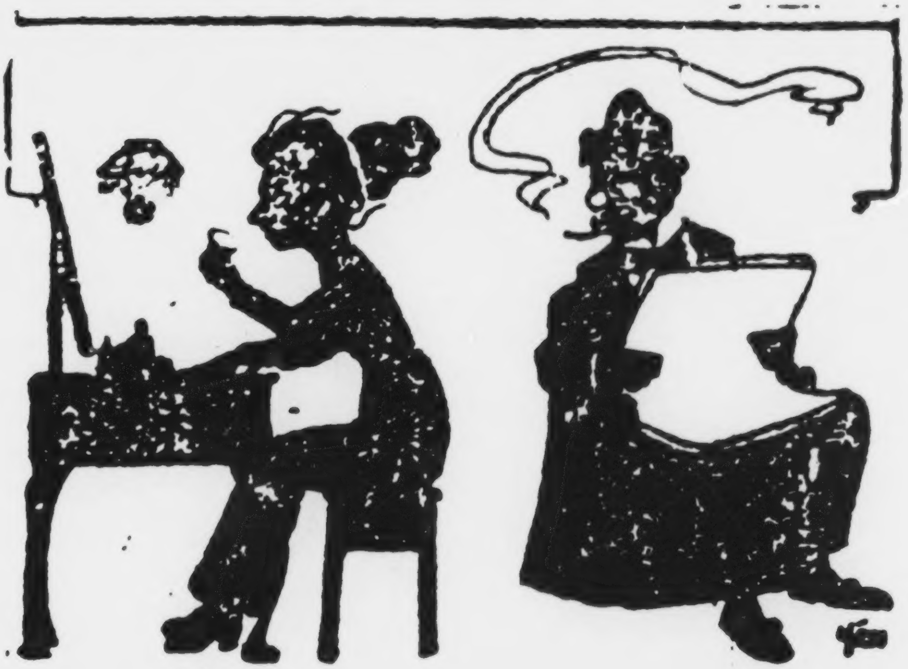
HE FORGOT TO FLAG IT

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT RAILWAY
WIS. VOTERS

Milwaukee Journal
Nov. 6, 1912 p. 1

Appendix I

WHEN WOMEN VOTE



"Well, my dear, did you have any trouble marking your ballot?'

"Mercy, no! It's so simple! I just put crosses against the names of all the men I didn't want elected."

Milwaukee Journal
Nov. 7, 1912 p. 11

NOTES

1.Harvey Molotch, "Media and Movements" in M.Zald and J. McCarthy (eds.) The Dynamics of Social Movements (Cambridge, Mass: Winthrop) 71-93.

2.For a comparative content analysis of news coverage of the 1912 referendum (following guidelines suggested by J. Hartley, Understanding News, London: Methuen, 1988, 155), see Elizabeth Burt, "Press Coverage of the 1912 Referendum For Woman Suffrage in Wisconsin: A Critical Analysis," unpublished seminar paper. This page-by-page analysis compared coverage by the *Milwaukee Free Press* and the *Milwaukee Journal* in the last four weeks of the campaign.

3.See Todd Gitlin, The Whole World is Watching (Berkely: University of California Press, 1980); Gaye Tuchman, Making News: A Study of the Construction of Reality (New York: The Free Press, 1978).

4.See Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association (WWSA) papers, Archives, State Historical Society of Wisconsin (SHSW), Madison; Ada Lois James (ALJ) papers, SHSW; J.W. McMullen, "Brief Legislative History of the Woman's Suffrage Movement of Wisconsin," Sept. 1915, Pamphlet Collection, SHSW; Marilyn Grant, "The 1912 Suffrage Referendum: An Experience in Political Action," Wisconsin Magazine of History, 64 (Winter 1980-81), 107-118; Theodora Winton Youmans, "How Wisconsin Women Won the Ballot," Wisconsin Magazine of History, 5 (1921), 3-26. Hereafter the abbreviation ALJ will be used for Ada Lois James. All papers, unless otherwise noted, are contained in the archives of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in Madison, hereafter abbreviated SHSW.

5.At this time, only five states had woman suffrage: Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, and Washington. California got the vote for women in November 1911, and Arizona, Kansas, Michigan and Oregon achieved universal suffrage in November 1912

6.Ibid. The process was far from smooth however. Rivalry between the younger and older factions was complicated by the presence of an "outsider," Mary Swain Wagner, a New York organizer who took it upon herself to revamp the Wisconsin organization. Wagner led the revolt from Brown's WWSA and then tried to control the newly formed PEL. She was on the outs with its members within the month and was soon ousted from the state movement entirely. For more on Wagner, see correspondence in the Ada Lois James papers.

7.Olympia Brown seems to have been the most offended by the split; she saw it as the usurpation of her role as the state's leading suffragist. She complained bitterly to members of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), hoping to discredit the PEL and cut it off from funds and assistance. Ada James remained largely silent on the issue, but did discuss it in correspondence with NAWSA President Anna Howard Shaw, mostly in terms of how the conflict could be smoothed over. Shaw was distressed by the bickering and tried to act as a mediator between the two organizations. "I fully agree with you in your distress over the waste of nervous energy in soothing out people," she wrote James in December 1911. "In these days it seems we spend more of our time and strength... than we do doing anything else. If we have only the enemy to work on just now our task would not be so hard." (ALJ papers, Box 7 File 1.)

8.Brown to James, May 1911, ALJ papers, Box 5, File 3.

9.The Madison Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage appears to have been the state's most prominent anti-suffrage organization. Formed shortly after the referendum bill was passed in the legislature, it was headed by Mrs. Frank W. Hoyt, a retired school teacher and the wife of a wealthy banker and land developer. Officers of the organization were for the most part wealthy middle-class women married to local businessmen. Records of the organization could not be located for this project, and this information was culled from newspaper stories and advertisements as well as material contained in the PEL and WWSA papers at the SHSW.

10. In its campaign to neutralize the effects of the German-American Alliance, the PEL put a good deal of energy into finding native German speakers and writers who could address the suffrage issue in the press and in public meetings. Oshkosh campaign organizer Sophie Gudden, whose job it was to line up the translators, often despaired, however, of converting "these ignorant, hard-headed Germans." (Gudden to James, ALJ papers, January 1912, Box 7, File 3.) Although the link between suffrage and prohibition is not always apparent to contemporaries, it was quite clear at the turn of the century. Many of the earlier women who agitated for suffrage first became politically active in the temperance and prohibition movements and in groups such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League. Conversely, when women argued that with the vote they would be able to clean up society, it was not a stretch of the imagination to believe that they would clean up what was seen as one of its principal evils -- the saloon and the sale of beer and alcohol. The liquor industry and the brewers came to see women as their principal foes, foes who would have a real weapon if they gained the vote. For more about the relationship between woman suffrage, temperance, prohibition, and the brewing industry, see: Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard

university Press, 1959); James H. Timberlake, Prohibition and the Progressive Movement, 1900-1920 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963); Ross Evans Paulson, Women's Suffrage and Prohibition: A Comparative Study of Equality and Social Control (Glenville, Ill.: Scott Foresman and Company, 1973).

11.Of those who voted in the election, 90.7 percent voted on the woman suffrage referendum. This was a high response on a referendum issue; of the other three referenda on the ballot that year, the next highest response rate was 21.8 percent on a proposal on acquiring land for public and municipal projects. Voter turnout for the 1912 election is difficult to determine, since the number of registered or eligible voters for that year was not recorded. The best calculation can be made from the 1910 census, which reported a total of 683,743 males of voting age. Assuming that this number would have grown somewhat by 1912, we can safely conclude that, with 399,975 voting in 1912, no more than 58.5 percent of the eligible voters took part in the election. This low turnout leads to interesting speculations about who was and who wasn't voting. One possibility is that many of the the foreign-born (39.4 percent of the eligible voters in 1910) were not participating in the election because of their inability to speak English, confusion, or disinterest. Wisconsin Blue Book, 1913 (Madison: State of Wisconsin Publishing Co.) p. 231; Wisconsin Blue Book, 1911 (Madison: State of Wisconsin Publishing Co.) p. 247.

12.N.W. Ayer & Sons American Newspaper and Annual Directory (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Sons, 1912), 990-1021.

13.Ayers Directory, 1007-1009; Will C. Conrad, Kathleen F. Wilson and Dale Wilson, The Milwaukee Journal: The First Eighty Years (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, Madison); The *Milwaukee Journal*, January 1911-November 1912, SHSW Microfilm Library. According to Ayers', the *Journal* was followed in daily circulation by the *Sentinel* (circ. 47,234), the *Evening Wisconsin* (41,121); the *Free Press* (34,392); the *News* (29,147), the *Kuryer Polski*, a Polish-language paper (23,400), and the *Germania Abendpost*, a German-language paper (21,608). The largest daily published outside Milwaukee was the *Superior Telegram* (11,565); the largest daily published in Madison, the state's capital, was the *Wisconsin State Journal*, with a circulation of just 6,149.

14. See Tuchman's discussion of the feminist movement in the New York papers in Making News. This controversy over the "woman's page" continues today, when newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* have created, in their efforts to develop readers' interest, special sections appealing to special interest groups. Thus news concerning issues of traditional interest to women -- family, relationships, health care, childcare -- are once again appearing in the women's pages.

15. See Lauren Kessler, "The Ideas of Woman Suffragists and the Portland *Oregonian*," Journalism Quarterly (Winter 1980), 597-605. Here Kessler created a specific model for identifying the ideas of the woman suffrage and identified seven major recurring ideas. In this study, however, the concept of ideas was used much more loosely and referred to any discussion, no matter how minute, of why women wanted or deserved the right to vote. As shall be seen below, few of the news stories encountered on the first page of the *Journal* went beyond the basic reporting of "just the facts."

16.Many items defied categorization because they used unclear language, had references unclear to a modern reader, or were too brief to convey a clear message to this analyst. The editorial page was clearly intended for a special group of people -- those who read the *Journal* on a regular basis, followed the issues closely, and were conversant with the newspaper's inside jokes. For this reason, therefore, the number of items categorized as neutral/unclear may not be accurate.

17.See Gitlin, The Whole World's Watching; Tuchman, Making News.

18. Kessler, "The Ideas of the Woman Suffragists"; Pamela S. Shoemaker, "Media Treatment of Deviant Political Groups," Journalism Quarterly (Spring 1984) 66-85; Clarice N. Olien, Philip J. Tichenor and George A Donohue, "Media Coverage and Social Movements," in C. Salmon (ed.) Information Campaigns: Balancing Social Values and Social Change (New York: Sage, 1989) 139-163.

19.W. Lance Bennett, Lynne Gresset and William Halton, "Repairing the News: A Case Study of the News Paradigm," Journal of Communication (Spring 1985) 50-68; Edward Herman and Noem Chomsky, Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media (New York: Pantheon, 1988); Gitlin, The Whole World's Watching; Tuchman, Making News.

20.School issues were considered legitimately within the domain of women, and school suffrage for women had existed as early as 1861 in Kansas. By 1911, school suffrage for women prevailed in some form in twenty-nine states, including Wisconsin. Wisconsin Blue Book, 1911 (Madison: State of Wisconsin Publishing Co) p.231.

21.*Milwaukee Journal*, March 8, 1911, p. 1, c.2; March 14, 1911, p.1., c.1; March 22, 1911, p.1, c,7; March 22, 1911, p.1., c.5.

22.*Milwaukee Journal*,: May 29, 1911, p.1, c.6.

23.Henriette Layman to Crystal Eastman Benedict (CEB hereafter), ALJ papers, Box 5, File 4; the *Milwaukee Journal*, Oct. 5, 1911, p. 1, c.1; Oct. 11, 1911, p.1., c.2.

24.Josephine Kulzick to Ada James, April 1, 1911, ALJ papers, Box 5, File 2.

25.National as well as small-town newspapers and magazines eventually supported the Wisconsin suffrage referendum, including *Collier's, Dress Magazine, Judge, Woman's National Weekly,* the *Chicago Record-Herald,* the *Chicago News,* the *Wisconsin State Journal, LaFollette's Weekly,* the *Antigo Journal,* the *Rhinelander News,* the *Waukesha Freeman* and the *Hartland News.* Most of these as well as others, including the Milwaukee *Sentinel,* the Milwaukee *Free Press,* the *Wisconsin State Journal,* and the La Crosse *Tribune,* agreed to publish special suffrage editions, while still others ran suffrage pages or columns on a regular basis. The *Wisconsin State Journal* was a fervent supporter, writing the PEL in June 1911 that it was "in favor of woman suffrage."

26.The Milwaukee *Free Press,* a working class paper, opposed the suffrage and caused frequent consternation among suffragists with its negative articles. In addition, several German-language papers opposed the referendum and refused to run suffrage columns. The PEL responded by spreading the word among the membership and barraging the erring editors with letters, corrections, and complaints.

27. The *Wisconsin State Journal* wrote the PEL in June 1911, stating it was "in favor of woman suffrage." The newspaper's editor, Richard Lloyd Jones, volunteered to speak at suffrage events and wrote Benedict in March 1912 that he was eager to "contribute anything to the success of the great human issue which we are all so anxious to see carried through." See the *Wisconsin State Journal* to the PEL, June 16, 1911, ALJ papers, Box 5, File 4; Richard Lloyd Jones to Crystal Eastman Benedict, March 21, 1912, ALJ Papers, Box 8, file 2.

28.See Stuart Hall, "The Rediscovery of Ideology: The Return of the Repressed in Media Studies," in M. Gurevitch et al (eds.) Culture, Society and the Media (London: Methuen, 1982); S. Elizabeth Bird and Robert W. Dardenne, "Myth, Chronicle and Story: Exploring the Narrative Qualities of the News" in James W. Carey (ed) Media, Myths and Narratives: Television and the Press (Newbury Park: Sage).

29.U.S. Senate Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, vol. 1, v-vi. The United States Brewers Association (U.S.B.A.) even went so far as to buy its own daily newspaper, *The Washington Times,* in 1918 with the intention of using it to promote its interests.

Although the thrust of the Senate hearings was to reveal the USBA's pro-German, pro-Bolshevik activities during World War I, testimony and documents often dealt with the organization's attempts to block suffrage and prohibition. Other industries, for a variety of reasons opposed the suffrage. Those affiliated with the liquor industry, the grain industry and the railroads, for example, were opposed for obvious reasons. But for years the meat packing and manufacturing industries also opposed it in the fear that once women got the ballot they would push for legislation requiring shorter work weeks and equal pay. For more about the connection between woman suffrage, the press, and the liquor industry, see Elizabeth Burt, "Woman Suffrage, The Liquor Industry, and the Press: Wisconsin, 1911-1912," unpublished conference paper presented at the Midwest AEJMC Regional History Conference, April 1991. For more on opposition to woman suffrage, see Flexner, 304-318.

30.There were 144 brewing companies in Wisconsin in 1912; ten of these, employing 3,000 people, were in Milwaukee. Three of those companies were among the city's top tax-paying corporations. In addition, the brewers were affiliated with the liquor industry, the retail beer and liquor industry, the saloons, the grain industry, the barrel-makers, the railroads, and the teamsters. William Henry Burhop, "Statistical Study of the Liquor Business and its Effects in Wisconsin" (unpublished Bachelor's thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1913), 4.

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The Search for Unity: The Importance of the Black Press in the Emigration/Colonization Issues of the 1800s

by

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The Search for Unity:

The Importance of the Black Press in the Emigration/Colonization Issues of the 1800s

Since colonial times, the development of the mass media has paralleled the development of American society. From the first broadsides to today's high-tech visual communication, the mass media have served to inform and to direct public thinking about relevant issues and occurrences in daily life. However, one of the past shortcomings of historical research has been the tendency to examine the American mass media as an isolated institution, while failing to show the interrelationship between the media and the social trends or settings of which it is an inseparable part.

As a part of society, journalists have made a significant impact on the lives of their readers, helping to determine the public's thoughts and attitudes on various issues or events and to focus support onto a single, pervasive objective. Any combination of conditions or factors in the social environment affected the content and operation of the media, while providing the members of the media with a set of issues and guidelines to be used for developing their own specific standards and policies.

While this significant role has been a continual one, it has been most evident at the times when the mass media audience was divided over a particular issue or concern. The media helped to shape and mold societal attitudes and opinions based on the current traits, objectives, and values. This idea was particularly true in the nineteenth-century black media, at a time when the race was fragmented by a variety of circumstances and desperately needed an identity and a sense of group-belonging. Both before and after the Civil War, blacks were faced with a major decision pertaining to the future development and well-being of the race. By the middle of the century, the colonization/emigration issue threatened to destroy the sense of brotherhood that free black leaders had worked so long to construct.[1] Ironically, those same black leaders who opposed colonization and immigration before the Civil War eagerly supported a later black exodus to the West as blacks attempted to escape the difficulties and unfair treatment during Reconstruction in the South.

More than four decades before the Civil War, blacks were torn over three choices of action: to settle in the hostile and unknown regions of Africa with the hopes of starting a new and independent black-controlled society; to seek a settlement area less hostile than Africa where they had a broader range of freedoms than the United States offered; or to remain and learn to assimilate in a country that continuously denied them equal treatment. Colonization represented an opportunity to start a new life as the masters of their own destiny in the country of their ancestors or as equal members of a welcoming society and a chance to leave the country that still refused to accept blacks as full citizens. For anti-colonizationists, remaining in the United States would provide an opportunity for blacks to carve a niche for themselves in an existing society and to claim the fruits of their past labors in the only place they knew as home. They also saw it as their duty to oppose this attempt to deny blacks a chance at equality.

In view of the varying perspectives, it became clear that blacks in the community needed some method of determining which stance approximated their own beliefs. The task fell to the black writers and editors to serve as an instrument of social interpretation and to take a stand that would reunite the black community against the common enemy, slavery.

By the early 1800s, the ramifications of the slavery system were being discussed openly among both blacks and whites. One of the recurring questions in most of the discussions was: what would become of American society if all the slaves were emancipated? Colonization became the ultimate response for many Americans. In 1810 there were 1,378,000 blacks in America. Of that number, only 186,466 were free blacks. Many felt that the United States was not quite ready to deal with a large, and decidedly different, social class. Too often the nation's leaders had heard the horror stories of what would happen if former slaves were allowed to "run amuck" without white supervision. Virginia Assembly representative Charles Fenton Mercer introduced a series of resolutions in 1816 that would ask the federal government to establish a settlement in the North Pacific where free blacks and those to be emancipated in the future could be sent. He explained to the Assembly that he and other slaveholders were unable to manumit their slaves "by the melancholy conviction that they [the slaveholders] cannot yield to the suggestions of humanity without manifest injury to their country."[2]

Mercer was one of many who saw colonization as the logical solution to the moral and social dilemmas associated with widespread emancipation. This flurry of discussion and support eventually led to the creation of the American Colonization Society, originally called the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States.[3] The society's objective was contained in the second article of its constitution, which read:

> Art. II. The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act to effect this object in cooperation with the general government and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.[4]

Throughout the North, free blacks joined together to oppose the colonization idea. The society was given notice that this attempt at "social engineering" would not be tolerated.[5] Newspaper correspondent and author David Walker expressed the sentiments of many of his peers when he wrote,

> America is more our country than it is the whites--
> we have enriched it with our blood and tears . . .
> and will they drive us from our property and homes,
> which we have earned with our blood?[6]

These anti-colonizationists opposed any movement of blacks outside the United States. They reasoned that this movement was designed to weaken the cohesiveness being formed among blacks for the abolition of slavery. For many it was a "vicious scheme designed to perpetuate slavery by removing the bondsman's natural ally from America."[7]

Colonization eventually became an anathema to the antislavery movement. Free blacks sent to Africa were dying at an alarming rate. Of the 4,571 blacks sent to the Liberia colony during the first 23 years, only 2,388 were still living in 1843.[8] Most blacks, particularly journalists, considered the Society to be a deportation organization "whose members believed both in black inferiority and in the necessity of ridding the country of its free black population in order to preserve the institution of slavery."[9] Two months after the March 16, 1827, appearance of *Freedom's Journal*, editors Samuel Cornish and John Russwurm began an anti-colonization campaign with a letter written by black abolitionist James Forten, under the pseudonym "A Man of Colour." Forten criticized Congressman Henry Clay for supporting colonization and refuted previous statements by Clay that blacks were unanimously in favor of colonization plans.

> Mr. Clay's proposal is to remove annually six thousand of those persons, and thus he says keep down their alarming increase; this he avows to be the grand object of the Society. The Baltimore Memorial, to which he adverts, was not the unanimous sentiments of the colored people; for I am credibly informed, that at least two-thirds of the meeting dissented from it. At a meeting lately held in Philadelphia, of the most respectable people of color, consisting of nearly three thousand persons, to take this subject into consideration, there was not one who was in favor of leaving this country; but they were all opposed to colonization in any foreign country whatever.[10]

When denounced by white colonizationists for publishing Forten's letter, Cornish defended the right of his paper to address the issue by reiterating past arguments against colonization: that colonization did not aid in eliminating the slave trade; that the notion of blacks being better suited to the African climate was false; and that the philosophy created by colonizationists that blacks would never achieve full equality in the United States was also untrue.[11] As for his own activities in using *Freedom's Journal* to oppose the Colonization Society, he added:

> That we have made any effort, through this Journal, to prejudice the minds of our brethren against the Society, or render them suspicious of its motives, we positively deny: but that we are opposed to colonization in PRINCIPLE, OBJECT, AND TENDENCY, we, as unhesitatingly affirm. We have never desired to conceal our sentiments. In soliciting patronage to our Journal among Colonizationists, we expressed ourselves to many of them as opposed to colonization in any shape, unless it be merely considered as a missionary establishment; yet, if we were wrong our minds were open to conviction, and we wished to see the subject discussed; they were generally pleased with the idea. . . .[12]

The *Freedom's Journal* editors also welcomed the contributions of others willing to discuss the topic of colonization. Bishop Richard Allen, founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, chastised colonizationists for attempting to send "neither civilized nor christianized" blacks to a hostile country and for sending free educated blacks away, while requiring those who chose to stay in America to exist as uneducated slaves.[13]

Similarly, William Watkins, one of the black abolitionists credited with helping to convert William Lloyd Garrison to the anti-colonizationist cause, wrote to the paper, criticizing the Society for the hypocritical attitude of its members. He argued that many of the "most distinguished of that society" were slaveholders who could more easily display their benevolence by alleviating the degraded condition of those "directly under their observation." He also questioned why, if colonizationists were eager to help blacks establish a separate and equal community, did they require the colony to be so far away from the United States? He asked,

> (W)hy this strong aversion to being united to us, even by soil and climate? Why this desire to be so remotely alienated from us? Is it to extend to us in the hour of danger, the friendly hand of assistance? Or rather is it not to get effectually and for ever rid of that heterogeneous, or supposed 'dangerous element in the general mass of free blacks,' who, it is said, 'are a greater nuisance than the slaves themselves?'[14]

The effectiveness of the persuasive powers of the black media became evident when Russwurm assumed sole editorship of the *Freedom's Journal*, the first black newspapers of the period and one of the leaders of the anti-colonization movement by the end of the 1820s. Russwurm eventually altered his position on colonization, a change considered to be one of the reasons for Cornish's resignation as senior editor. Russwurm's obvious change of view elicited irate responses from his readers. He explained:

> The change in our views on colonization seems to be a 'seven days wonder' to many of our readers. But why, we do not perceive; like others, we are mortal; like them, we are liable to changes, and like them, we should be allowed the privilege of expressing our sentiments, a boon which is not denied to the most abject being in this country. We are sorry there are those who are unwilling to grant us this liberty, but as *Freedom's Journal* has ever been an independent paper, we shall continue to express ourselves on colonization, and on all other subjects which we may deem proper. . . . .Our columns have ever been open to a free discussion of this important subject and they are still open; but is it reasonable to suppose that we should grant freedom of enquiry to others and deprive ourselves of it? We live in a day of general illumination, and it is our happiness to be among those, who believe in the feasibility of establishing a flourishing colony in Africa, which in progress of time, may be the means of disseminating civilization and christianity throughout the whole of that vast continent.[15]

Russwurm's change in attitude more than likely precipitated the end of his reign as *Freedom's Journal* editor and his simultaneous decision to leave for Africa with the help of the Society. Cornish returned to re-establish the paper under the name of *The Rights of All* and attempted to clear up any confusion that Russwurm's apostasy had caused among the black community. Cornish reiterated his opposition to colonization, assuring his readers of his personal knowledge that "the views of the intelligent of my brethren generally, are the same as ever in respect to colonisation."[16]

The constant attacks on colonization eventually led to a general condemnation of all forms of emigration. Cornish's anti-colonization position, reinforced in his later newspaper *The Colored American*, became the dominant view of black Americans by the 1830s. Some blacks, none in any position of stature, continued to migrate to Africa, but in small numbers. Numbers for society-sponsored black emigrants to Africa dropped to 47 in 1839, down from 109 the year before and 138 two years earlier.[17] The disinterest was probably due to a variety of factors: anti-colonization hostility, the failure of the Haitian emigration movement, and the shift from the movement for gradual emancipation to immediate emancipation among antislavery advocates. Also, the proliferation of antislavery societies and more black-owned newspapers, along with the onset of black national conventions, allowed blacks to have a greater voice in their own future.

The society's managers were well aware that the African colonization movement evoked hostility among most free blacks. Reports of apathy flooded into the society's Washington headquarters. In New York City free blacks complained that the Liberian authorities "withheld trading privileges from colonists, denied settlers a voice in the government, and refused return passage to dissatisfied emigrants."[18] The colonization issue did not emerge again until the 1850s when the United States moved closer to civil war. Led by Martin R. Delany, a Pittsburgh physician and former editor of *The Mystery*, the emigrationist movement of the 1850s and 1860s sought unity and racial solidarity outside the United States in order to achieve full equality. The major premise of the group was the idea that a prosperous and independent community of free blacks would do more to facilitate emancipation than any abolitionist speech. Some blacks held the belief that slavery would never end until the race demonstrated to the world that it was capable of managing its own affairs. This could only be accomplished outside the constrictions of U.S. authority. For these purposes, Africa would not be suitable, but Canada, Central America, and the Caribbean were all strong prospects.[19] Delany, a former co-editor of Frederick Douglass' *North Star*, maintained that blacks could no longer depend on others to solve their problems of racial discrimination or slavery. He believed that blacks could only prosper if they attempted to better themselves in such places as Canada or Central and South America where resources were plentiful and blacks could contribute to the commercial productivity of the region.[20] In August 1854, Delany issued the "Call for a National Emigration Convention" to be held the next year to consider plans for emigrating to countries in the Western Hemisphere. His announcement elicited twenty-six signers, including eighteen of Delany's Pennsylvania associates.[21]

One of the supporters of the emigration convention was James M. Whitfield, a black poet whose lengthy letters to *Frederick Douglass' Paper* in 1853 sparked an extended debate over Delany's emigration movement. While Whitfield espoused the benefits of a black nation where blacks could elevate themselves and eventually their enslaved brethren, Douglass' associate editor, William J. Watkins, depicted emigration as capitulation to the white racists that saw blacks as outsiders who could never become a part of American society.[22]

As a black journalist whose influence was almost incomparable during this period, Douglass played a vital role in determining the type of support the emigrationist movement would receive. However, almost all of the items he printed -- meeting reports, correspondence, convention news -- condemned the movement.[23] One Pittsburgh correspondent doubted whether "any considerable number of our Pittsburgh people will subscribe to this movement."[24] David Jenkins, editor of the *Palladium of Liberty* in Columbus, Ohio, directed opposition against all emigration movements. He also urged Cleveland blacks not to allow the emigration convention to be held in the city as scheduled. He added, "Let us, if possible, keep our State from this great curse and pollution."[25] Douglass also reported on a statewide convention of Illinois blacks who perceived the emigration move as a "spirit of disunion which, if encouraged, will prove fatal to our hopes and aspirations as a people in this country."[26]

The emigration movement also received an unexpected blow from the black community in Canada West. Aware that Delany favored emigration to Central and South America over Canada, editors at *The Provincial Freeman* questioned the motives and intentions of the nationalist-emigrationists. The *Freeman* also took the position that support of black nationalism would negate Canadian blacks' present allegiance to Great Britain in favor of a separate black nation. Instead, the paper urged blacks to come to Canada to be a part of the "Colored British nation" that "knows no one color above another, but being composed of all colors. . . is evidently a *colored* nation."[27] In one attack on the idea of a colony in Central or South America, the editors queried:

> What will you do . . . when, surrounded by big spiders, lizards, snakes, centipedes, scorpions and all manner of creeping and biting and things? Do you want to be sun-struck? Do you court yellow fever and laziness, haughty employers, and contemptible black prejudice? If you do, go in peace.[28]

This type of disagreement among emigrationist supporters helped to weaken the influence of the movement. Delany eventually won over *Freeman* editor Mary Ann Shadd and her brother Isaac D. Shadd after modifying his previous opinion on black emigration to Canada. However, despite the conversion of the Shadds, Delany's movement continued to lose ground as its members pursued diverse interests. James Theodore Holly, a black Episcopal minister, implemented an exodus to the already established black nation of Haiti with the dual purpose of strengthening the existing nationality and promoting the Episcopalian religion. The Reverend Henry Highland Garnet, a militant abolitionist, supported the move to Haiti in a letter to *The Weekly Anglo-African*, creating a debate with James McCune Smith, a prominent black doctor in New York City and one of the country's leading intellectuals. Smith saw emigration to Haiti as more proof to confirm the theory that blacks were too inferior to thrive on an equal basis with whites in a white-dominated country. His response to Garnet's endorsement of Haiti concluded that

> Your duty to our people is to tell them to aim higher. In advising them to go to Hayti, you direct them to sink lower. You and those with whom you are immediately identified--nay the most if not all of our people in the free States--believe themselves of equal force and ability with the whites, come whence they may. We affirm by our lives and conduct that if degraded, it is not by our innate inferiority but by the active oppression of those who outnumber us.[29]

Garnet's reply questioned Smith's contributions to the improvement of the lifestyles of black youth and also focused on his lack of patronage of black labor. He wrote:

> You pass by the black tailor, mantua-maker, milliner, and shoemaker, and carpenter, and employ white people who curse you to your teeth. Why, your own party will not even employ a black doctor as a general thing. . . . There is one colored tradesman whom you patronize, that is the black 'barber' for no one else will shave you![30]

However, it was not Smith's remarks, but the reports of sickness, death, and poor living conditions that provided anti-emigrationists with ample evidence against the Haiti plan, and also influenced the reaction of former emigration allies. *The Weekly Anglo-African* argued that blacks should not migrate to a nation where already rich soil was being further enriched by the bodies of the dying emigrants or where religion was controlled by the white Pope.[31] In Canada the worst abuse came from Mary Ann Shadd Cary, who denounced the Haitian movement for: reviving the previously discredited ideas of the African colonization movement; retaining emigration agents who stifled public disagreement with their views; and proving to be a death trap for blacks from North America.[32]

Because of the Christian commitment to the move, Delany could not join Holly and Garnet in the Haiti venture. Delany believed that "excessive religiosity weakened the capacity of blacks to labor for their own interests."[33] Therefore, in an effort to rebuild the movement and rejoin his former allies, Delany made preparations for an emigration project to Africa, conducting his own exploratory visit to the African continent.[34] Despite returning to Canada and locating potential emigrants, Delany failed to achieve a community consensus supporting his efforts.[35] From 1861 to 1864, only 169 society-sponsored emigrants traveled to Africa.[36]

In addition, the outbreak of the Civil War in the United States diverted attention away from the issue of emigration. As the war progressed, emigration became less important, and the focus of concern shifted from outside the United States to the plight of the slaves in the South. Not until after the war did emigration re-emerge as an alternative way of life for blacks. This time the concern centered around black settlement within the United States and further West. Again, it was time for the black media to take a stand, and this time they endorsed black migration.

Reconstruction in the South proved to be a disappointment to the recently emancipated blacks. Promises of equality were slow to be implemented or never materialized at all. Meanwhile, in some Southern states, passage of Black Codes restricted black progress almost to the point of continuing the institution of slavery. Black leaders soon recognized that an effective way to combat racism and to build successful black communities without prejudice and oppression was through westward migration within the country. An editorial in the December 12, 1872, *New National Era* proclaimed:

> Statesmen and friends of the latter races urge emigration to the fertile fields of the West, where cheap lands and good climate await the earnest toil of enterprising laborers to return wealth aplenty. We say to the colored people of the South, though you may be able to obtain employment at home, the time seems to be far distant when you can become owners of the soil, and consequently independent of the will of land-owners. Until you are independent of those who own the land and who can dictate the terms upon which you will be employed, you will be but little better than slaves.[37]

Life in the South ceased to appeal to free blacks. Secret organizations denied the blacks access to the political process. Republicans found it difficult to conduct governmental activities because of interference from white Southern returnees from the war. The lynching of blacks was a common occurrence. Black voting rights were violated by moving voting sites without notifying blacks, or by establishing poll tax requirements and other legal barriers to black suffrage. Blacks who had worked in agriculture all their lives could not buy their own land, but were forced to work as tenant farmers or sharecroppers.[38]

One newspaper placed the blame squarely on the shoulders of the owners. The editorial read, "(n)ot the land agents, not the attractions for a colder though more invigorating climate, but in the action of the planters themselves must the causes for the exodus be found."[39] The return of ex-Confederate officials to power, rumors of rich opportunities in other places, and unfair and cruel treatment all stimulated a stampede out of the South and into the West.[40] Africa never became a viable solution at this point. In 1879 only 91 blacks moved to Africa under the colonization society's protection. Ten years later the number had dwindled to 60.[41] By comparison, the West became the 'promised land' for blacks who lived in fear of racist groups and unscrupulous Southern officials. The editor of *The American Citizen* in Topeka, Kansas, wrote:

> Knowing as we do the brutality of southern bulldozers, the depravity of the midnight assassin, and the ballot box thief, the heartlessness and cruelty of the southern planter and taskmaster, we do not wonder that the Negroes are up in arms to leave the seemingly justice-forgotten and God-forsaken section of the country; but why they should flee from one den of ravenous and beastly thieves to seek refuge in meshes of another. . . .

> Come West, friends, come west, and grow up in God's country.[42]

Thousands of blacks left Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama, and Louisiana, heading for land in the North and the West. Henry Adams of Louisiana and Benjamin "Old Pap" Singleton of Tennessee assumed leadership of the move to Kansas in 1879. Adams claimed to have organized 98,000 blacks for the exodus, while Singleton distributed a circular on "The Advantage of Living in a Free State", causing several thousand to leave.[43] Between 1875 and 1880, Singleton settled 7,432 "exodusters," according to railroad and steamboat officials.[44] An article written by Will M. Clemens of Jacksonville, Fla., cited more than 3,000 emigrants from North Carolina alone by 1887.[45]

One Baltimore newspaper identified westward emigration as the only viable solution to end the harsh treatment inflicted by whites on Southern blacks.

> For colored men to stay in the rebel-ridden South and be treated like brutes is a disgrace to themselves and to the race to which they belong. The only way then that lies open to our people is to leave the South and come to the West. While we don't favor the colony idea very much, believing that the best course is to get as near other people as you can, yet, we would prefer that to being cheated and abused by the whites. When the South begins to lose her laborers in great numbers, then she will begin to see the folly of her course towards them, and her own necessities will forcer her to change her policies.[46]

Although conditions were hard for the settlers in Kansas, black editors continued to promote the emigration plan to blacks in the South. They pointed out the crude living arrangements as merely a short-term inconvenience that would eventually lead to better circumstances.

> Many good people in the East have probably heard of a 'Kansas dugout' and have thought of it as a sort of human habitation peculiar to partial civilization and frontier barbarity. This is by no means a fair conclusion. 'Dugouts' are not simply holes in the ground. They are generally dug into a side hill.. . . . Though comparatively few in number at the present time, they are still foremost among the best devices for building a fortune from the ground up.[47]

As Kansas reached the saturation point with emigrants, the black media began to encourage blacks to consider a move to the Oklahoma Territory. They urged "every colored man who wants 160 acres of land [to] get ready to occupy some of the best lands in Oklahoma." If this land should be opened up, "there is no reason why at least 100,000 colored men and women should not settle on 160 acres of land each and thus establish themselves so firmly in that territory that they will be able to hold their own from the start."[48]

Kansas was not the only area that attracted black settlers. The Dakota Territory received several settlers from Chicago, who took over "several thousand acres of land at Villiard, the County seat of McHenry County."[49] Likewise, emigration to the Indian Territory presented the opportunity to obtain land and to exercise self-determination. One editor concluded:

> In the Indian Territory, which lies south of the state of Kansas, there is situated a fertile tract of land, almost entirely occupied by the Cherokee Indians and Negroes. The latter were slaves of the Indians before the war and have lived with them

> ever since the emancipation. They are believed to be entitled to a considerable portion of the land in the Indian Territory, and application has been made to the government for an investigation and decision upon their claims. . . . (I)f the claims of the colored people to some of the land should be allowed, a vast field would be opened for them to become producers of wealth. Those who have struggled on in the various States of the South, unable to do more than make a bare living, owing to the better part of their earnings going to the storekeeper, would find an opportunity to settle and make homes for themselves.[50]

By the fall of 1889, colonization fever had struck among the black population, and several organizations had made plans to take blacks further southwest into Mexico.[51] Colonization continued through the turn of the century, causing a drain on the labor supply in the South and subsequent positive changes in the way those blacks who remained were being treated. As early as the summer of 1889, blacks were being courted by officials in the Mississippi delta with offers of more favorable conditions and more promising future prospects for blacks in the Delta.[52]

At the close of the century, the issue of colonization/emigration no longer threatened to further fragment an already divided society. The importance of the black media had been critical, since it provided a forum for the black populace that allowed them to voice support for or opposition against a particular individual or plan of action. Through utilization of this forum, black leaders were able to propagate support for a particular concept, based on their perception of what the community wanted and needed. Input from the community and involvement in community activities provided them with clues as to what topics were of major concern to their readers. Since the black community was just beginning to acquire a true voice in deciding its own destiny, readers welcomed the guidance of black leaders who were also not afraid to speak out on their behalf. The emergence of these highly motivated and outspoken individuals not only created a platform for black expression, but also helped to shape the opinion of the uninformed.

The opinions expressed within the black press articulated various alternatives for survival within the white American social structure. In each case, they examined the social implications of the plan of action before rendering a judgment on the pros and cons of each alternative. Thus, a decision was not necessarily made for the public, but the media allowed them to view the situation in context and to make up their own minds based on the information.

In the nineteenth century, it became clear to all blacks that the race could not continue as it had since colonial times. Despite the three varying avenues of actions, the foremost consideration was always given to ending unfair treatment and the second-class status of blacks. In each instance, black journalists emphasized a plan of action that would maintain the growing support network to fight against slavery and to achieve full citizenship status in the United States. This leadership role was a necessity for societal survival. Without some type of community direction, blacks would have foundered in their own indecision. Yet, the media assumed the role of social interpreter and leader, pulling together a divided society by determining what their overall wishes were. The obligation to serve the needs of the community dictated the issues and topics to be addressed in the media -- the media as servant, chronicler, spokesperson -- while the black press also served to unite the members of its audience by providing them with common causes to support and by helping to create a set of personal and public standards, values, and modes of behavior for its audience.

ENDNOTES

[1] Blacks in the 19th century discussed the terms "colonization" and "emigration" almost interchangably. This author has used the terms in the manner of the 19th-century journalists.

[2] Henry Noble Sherwood, "The Formation of the American Colonization Society," *Journal of Negro History 2*, no. 3 (July 1917): 212-213.

[3] Tom W. Shick, *Behold the Promised Land: A History of Afro-American Settler Society in Nineteenth-Century Liberia* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), p. 6.

[4] William Jay, *Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery* (John P. Jewett & Co., 1853), p. 15.

[5] Louis R. Mehlinger, "The Attitude of the Free Negro Toward African Colonization," *Journal of Negro History 1*, no. 3 (1916): 276-301.

[6] David Walker, *Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles, Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (Boston: By the Author, 1830), p. 21.

[7] Shick, p. 7.

[8] U.S. Congress, Senate, *U.S. Navy Department, Tables showing the Number of Emigrants and Recaptured Africans sent to the colony of Liberia by the Government of the United States. . . together with a Census of the Colony and a Report of its Commerce &c., September, 1843: Senate Document No. 150*, 28th Congress, 2d. Session, 1845.

[9] Floyd J. Miller, *The Search for a Black Nationality: Black Emigration and Colonization, 1787-1863* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1975), p. 54.

[10] *Freedom's Journal*, New York, May 18, 1827; Forten is identified as "A Man of Colour" in *The Colored American*, May 13, 1837.

[11] *Freedom's Journal*, June 8, 1827.

[12] Ibid.

[13] *Freedom's Journal*, November 2, 1827.

[14] *Freedom's Journal*, July 6, 1827.

[15] *Freedom's Journal*, March 7, 1829.

[16] *Rights of All*, New York, May 29, 1829.

[17] *Fifty-second Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, with Proceedings of the Annual Meeting and of the Board of Directors, January 19 and 20, 1869* (Washington, 1869).

[18] P.J. Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), p. 188.

[19] E.U. Essien-Udom, *Black Nationalism: A Search for an Identity in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), pp. 21-23.

[20] Martin R. Delany, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States* (Philadelphia: By the author, 1852).

[21] *Arguments, Pro and Con, on the Call for a National Convention, to be Held in Cleveland, Ohio, August 24, 1854* (Detroit: George E. Pomeroy & Co., 1854), p.7.

[22] *Arguments*, pp. 12, 18-19, 22.

[23] Note: Douglass' position against emigration is well-known among historians and has been well-documented. This brief reference in no way attempts to document the full extent of his involvement in the movement.

[24] *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, Rochester, N.Y., September 16, 1853.

[25] *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, October 23, 1853; March 31, 1854.

[26] *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, September 30, 1853.

[27] *The Provincial Freeman*, Chatham, Ontario, April 15, 1854.

[28] *The Provincial Freeman*, May 20, 1854.

[29] *The Weekly Anglo-African*, New York, January 12, 1861.

[30] *The Weekly Anglo-African*, January 19, 1861.

[31] *The Weekly Anglo-African*, October 5, 1861; November 2, 1861.

[32] *The Weekly Anglo-African*, September 28, 1861; October 19, 1861; October 26, 1861; November 9, 1861; December 28, 1861; February 15, 1862; April 5, 1862.

[33] Miller, p. 171.

[34] Martin R. Delany and Robert Campbell, *Search For a Place: Black Separatism and Africa, 1860.* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1969). This version is a reprint of Delany's *Official Report of the Niger Valley Exploring Party* in 1859 and Campbell's *A Pilgrimage to My Motherland: An Account of a Journey among the Ebans and Yorubas of Central America in 1859-60.*

[35] *Chatham (Ontario) Tri-Weekly Planet*, March 29, 1861.

[36] ACS Annual Report.

[37] *The New National Era*, Washington, D.C., December 12, 1872.

[38] John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), pp. 227-250.

[39] *The People's Advocate*, Washington, D.C., April 19, 1879.

[40] Franklin, p. 253.

[41] ACS Annual Report.

[42] *The American Citizen*, Topeka, Kansas, March 22, 1889.

[43] Ibid.

[44] *The Colored Patriot*, Topeka, Kansas, June 22, 1882.

[45] *The Freeman*, New York, January 22, 1887.

[46] *The American Citizen*, Baltimore, July 26, 1878.

[47] *The Kansas Herald*, Topeka, February 6, 1880.

[48] *The American Citizen*, Topeka, March 1, 1888.

[49] *The Cleveland Gazette*, December 29, 1883.

[50] *The New York Globe*, April 14, 1883.

[51] *The Plaindealer*, Detroit, October 11, 1889; October 18, 1889.

[52] *The Freeman*, Indianapolis, August 24, 1889.

MELANCHOLY ACCIDENTS AND DEPLORABLE NEWS:
SENSATIONALISM AND THE SOUTH CAROLINA GAZETTE, 1732-1738

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MELANCHOLY ACCIDENTS AND DEPLORABLE NEWS: SENSATIONALISM AND THE SOUTH CAROLINA GAZETTE, 1732-1738

Sensationalism, as the term is known and used in American journalism, is closely tied to a certain type of news associated with the nineteenth century. With the development of the Penny Press in 1833 and more specifically the *New York Herald* under the guiding hand of James Gordon Bennett, news took on an exploitational tone. No better example exists than Bennett's series of news features on the Ellen Jewett murder.[1] Similar reporting and exploitation appeared in the "yellow journalism" wars precipitated by William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer in the 1890s.[2]

This type of news, which Warren Francke said "exploits sensation, the experience of the senses and even life itself,"[3] was not invented by Bennett, Hearst or Pulitzer. In fact, the roots of sensationalism run to the very beginning of humankind's retelling of events.[4] According to Frank Luther Mott, the origins of America's sensationalism can be traced to printing in England.[5] There, broadsides and newsbooks of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were replete with stories with titles like *A Horrible Cruel and bloudy Murther . . . upon the body of Edward Hall a Miller . . . Done by the hands of . . . his servants . . . each of them giving him a deadly blow (as he lay sleeping) with a Pickax*[6] and "Mrs. Dier brought forth her horned-foure-talented [taloned]-monster" as a London publication characterized the story of the stillborn, deformed baby of Ann Dyer.[7]

These examples of news stories reinforce the idea that sensationalism existed before its nineteenth-century incarnation. But if sensationalism existed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and was raised to a fevered pitch by the end of the nineteenth century, how did sensationalism miss the eighteenth century? The answer is simple: it did not. Scholars, however, have tended to overlook the fact that the colonial press presented sensationalism.[8] One reason for the omission has been suggested by David Paul Nord whose study of teleology and the news points out that often seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century news items, which would be considered sensational, were reported to elicit an "Oh, my God" response because, in some way, divine intervention was a part of the event's news value.[9] This moral aspect of reporting was a carryover from the English broadsides and newsbooks.[10] As a result, such reporting appears to have a religious purpose rather than sensational tone.

Another reason for the omission of colonial papers from studies of sensationalism rests in the fact that colonial journalism lacked the flair of the Penny Press and the yellow journals. There were no bold headlines to invite the reader to the newspaper, nor were there the striking poems and titles found on the seventeenth-century broadsides of England. Most of the events were "clipped" from English papers. The clipping of news items, however, should not detract from the sensational nature of news or the purpose of printers who selected each piece of news. Regardless of the age of a bit of information, its inclusion was intentional. When Benjamin Franklin took over the *Philadelphia Gazette* in 1729, he asked for correspondents who could supply news of "every remarkable Accident, Occurrence, &c. fit for public Notice."[11] That was more than a request for political and social news from Philadelphia and the surrounding area. Franklin asked for the "remarkable."

Knowing that sensationalism existed in the colonial press and defining it, however, are two different issues. Most media scholars turn to Mott for the foundations of sensationalism's definition. Following his lead, they cite the basis of sensationalism as "the detailed newspaper treatment of crimes, disasters, sex scandals, and monstrosities."[12] Another study says that sensationalism "provides thrills, is fascinating in a morbid way . . . shocking to our moral and aesthetic sensibilities. It arouses unwholesome emotional responses. It appeals to man's unsatiable appetite to hear of horrors, crimes, disasters, sex scandals, etc."[13] In addition to the above, sensationalism, according to Donald Shaw, also dealt with jilted brides and cows with two heads.[14] Michael and Edwin Emery describe sensationalism as "emotion for its own sake . . . [that can] be seen in the periods when the most noteworthy developments in popular journalism were apparent." For the Emerys, these periods included 1620, 1833, the 1890s and the 1920s.[15]

In the most recent study of sensationalism, John D. Stevens' *Sensationalism and the New York Press* (1991), sensationalism seems restricted to crime news. Stevens says that "[n]o other type of news is of such universal interest."[16] But Stevens relies upon the definition of sensationalism provided by George Juergens in *Joseph Pulitzer and the New York World*. That definition includes three parts: 1) emphasis on personalities, 2) preference for trivial over significant news, and 3) use of colloquial, personal language.[17]

The colonial press' treatment of news that might be considered sensational includes all of the above and more. As Mitchell Stephens said in describing sensationalism, "Heinousness helps qualify it, and it helps to have a woman or a child involved, a high-born or well-known victim [and] some doubt in murders about guilt."[18]

As defined for this study on colonial journalism, sensationalism includes crimes, disasters, sex scandals, and monstrosities. It provides thrills, entertains, fascinates in a morbid way and shocks the moral and aesthetic sensibilities. Finally, it elicits an "Oh, my God" response--for both the religious implications that the event might hold and for the reaction reading such news produces in the reader. The latter reason may well have been the most important to the colonial printer because readership meant livelihood. For, as Boston printer Thomas Fleet said of some of his printing that aroused controversy, "I had a prospect of getting a Penny by it. . . ."[19]

The "prospect of getting a Penny" was exactly what drew printers to South Carolina in the 1730s. The legislature, in dire need of an official printer, struck upon the idea of paying a bounty to attract a printer. The ploy, after additional sweetening of the reward, worked, and it is to "Charles-Town" this research turns to explore the sensationalism in the colonial newspaper.

The South Carolina Gazette

Any preliminary study of sensationalism and the colonial press must have a starting point. That point of departure is the southern-most newspaper of colonial America, the *South Carolina Gazette*. The period covered will include the tenures of the paper's first two publishers, which run from 1732-1738. The Gazette began printing in the port town of Charleston on January 8, 1732 with Thomas Whitmarsh listed as its publisher. The colony had been seeking the services of a printer since 1722 when it offered £1,000 in return for printing services.[20] No printer took up the House of Commons' offer until 1731, however, when an additional bonus of £100 was added to the £1,000 figure.[21] Three printers responded to the advertisement after the bonus was added. They were Eleazar Phillips, George Webb and Whitmarsh.[22] Phillips evidently won the bonus,[23] but both he and Whitmarsh began publishing newspapers in the town--Phillips the *South Carolina Weekly Gazette* and Whitmarsh the *South Carolina Gazette*.[24]

Yellow fever cut short Phillips' publishing career after only six months. He died in July 1732,[25] leaving Whitmarsh as the colony's only printer. Whitmarsh published the *South Carolina Gazette* each Saturday for the next twenty months. The September 8, 1733 edition was Whitmarsh's last, he had fallen victim, just as his competitor had done, to yellow fever.[26]

Whitmarsh's initial issue of the *South Carolina Gazette* established the paper's format under his direction. The first page and usually part of the second were devoted to a single story or correspondence. These reports dealt with a variety of subjects that would be considered feature-type articles by twentieth-century standards. An excellent example would be the account of the silk worm printed in the February 5 and 12, 1732 editions. Following the feature article, news was generally listed under three headlines--"London News," "Foreign Affairs" and "Charles-Town." The newspaper averaged from a half to one and a half pages of advertisements each week in its standard four-page edition. The inaugural edition also offered Whitmarsh's promise of what he and the paper would do with the news it received. "To sift Truth from all Rubbish, I do what I can, And God knows if I err--I'm a fallible Man. . . ."[27] The publisher's effort at poetry was also a preview of the literature, both prose and poem, that would be published in the *South Carolina Gazette*.[28]

Whitmarsh's tenure as South Carolina's official publisher was followed by that of French-born printer, Louis Timothée. Both Whitmarsh and Timothée were associates of Benjamin Franklin, who evidently sent both printers to Charleston.[29] Lewis Timothy, as the printer Anglicized his name beginning with his April 6, 1734 edition, had financial ties with Franklin as well as recommendations for the job. In his *Autobiography*, Franklin tells of sending "his journeyman" to Charleston and of the financial arrangements between the two. "I furnished him with a press and letters on an agreement of partnership by which I was to receive one-third of the profits of the business, paying one-third of the expense."[30] Timothy served as publisher of the newspaper until December 1738, when he died.[31] Timothy continued the literary offerings of the *Gazette*, but he changed the front-page format opting more for international news, especially news of war in Europe. The newspaper, in an obvious effort to turn a profit because of the financial arrangement with Franklin, increased its advertising inches. Under Timothy, the *South Carolina Gazette* ran anywhere from one to two and a half pages of ads.

During the tenure of Whitmarsh and Timothy at the *South Carolina Gazette*, Charleston was the most active trading partner of the Caribbean sugar colonies. Consequently, most of the news reaching the colony from England and continental Europe came by way of ships running the sugar route triangle from England to the Caribbean and then to the port of Charleston. News traveling this route usually took between nine and eleven weeks to make the trip from England to Jamaica, and in peacetime, this trade produced "constant communication" with the mother country.[32] Charleston was not connected to the intercolonial postal service until 1738, and this fact, coupled with the triangle required for most news to reach the colony, made South Carolinians the last colonists to receive transatlantic news in the 1730s.[33]

As the controllers of the news reaching South Carolinians, Whitmarsh and Timothy selected the news that appeared in the *South Carolina Gazette*. Even though South Carolina may have been the last colony to receive news from England and Europe, it did obtain news from intercolonial trade and correspondence. Because the printers had access to several sources of information, the news that appeared each week was deliberately selected. A look at that news that was sensational in nature follows along with its frequency of appearance or lack thereof.

Thomas Whitmarsh: "Melancholy" Accounts, Accidents and Affairs

From Thomas Whitmarsh's first edition of the *South Carolina Gazette* on January 8, 1732 until his last publication on September 8, 1833, melancholy accounts, accidents and affairs, as the printer often referred to them, appeared regularly each Saturday. Crimes, especially murder, were a favorite news feature. Natural disasters, assorted tales of deaths, marriages between elderly brides and grooms and sexual encounters were numerous as well.

The January 8, 1732 paper set the sensationalism standard for Whitmarsh's tenure. Not only did the *South Carolina Gazette*'s initial edition carry "Several Melancholy Accounts . . . of Misfortunes" that produced fourteen separate deaths by lightning and the murder of a bastard child by its mother, it reported the tragic demise of an entire family because of a father's violent temper.[34] The paper reported the latter, an emotion-grabbing event from Paris:

> A man working in his Vineyard in Argentuil, bid his Son fetch him a Vine-prop: The Boy, naturally, it seems, rebellious, refused to obey; upon which his Father in Wrath, struck him with a Stick a Blow on the Temples, wherein he forthwith died. The Father, stunn'd with Grief, went to throw himself into the Well: The Mother sitting hard by, laid down her young Child, to run and hinder the Father, who drew her along with him into the Well, and a Hog came and killed the young Child; so the whole Family perished at once.[35]

The account of the deaths of the French family exemplifies the sensationalism of Whitmarsh's *South Carolina Gazette*. While the murder of the older child was not gruesome, it shocked the moral sensibilities of the reader. Readers would have known of a biblical injunction against such displays of temper and the scriptural consequences of such outbursts. The suicide of the father and his accidental killing of his wife fueled the moral question while providing entertaining reading with morbid overtones. The death of the infant completed the story and provided the perfect "Oh, my God" ending. The thought of the child being orphaned would have been bad enough but to picture the child being slaughtered by a hog created a knee-jerk response. No doubt, readers of the *Gazette* asked friends if they had read of the baby that was murdered by a pig.

Murder headed the list of sensational stories in Whitmarsh's *South Carolina Gazette*. Most of the accounts told of a more violent death than that of the Argentuil family, but most of them also lacked the same emotion-grabbing potential. Nonetheless, the murders were usually described in some graphic detail, enough at least to evoke a morbid interest. The murder of children provided the best avenue of providing readers with shocking accounts. A mother's murder of her eight-month-old son was sad reading, but knowing that the mother "cut its Windpipe and afterwards its Head almost off"[26] gave the event its shock value.

Accounts of the murder of children were often encompassed in a more tragic set of affairs. On August 26, 1832, the *South Carolina Gazette* reported on page one and two "the most melancholy Affair happened that hath been heard for many Years." Following this introduction the paper related the double suicide of parents and their murder of their two-year-old daughter. Richard and Bridget Smith of London had been sentenced to debtor's prison. The night before their sentence was to begin, the Smiths murdered their child, killed themselves and left a series of letters explaining their actions. The next morning the Smiths were discovered hanging near their bed, and "in another Room their little Child . . . was found in a Cradle shot thro' the Head."[37]

Reading of the murder-suicide was only the beginning. Following the description of the death scene, the Gazette printed the letters written by the Smiths explaining the reasons for their actions. There is no doubt their contents were printed to elicit emotional responses from the reader, for the letters played upon the knowledge of each reader of what could happen if fortune played a financial trick upon them. "[W]e appeal to all that ever knew us, whether we were either idle or extravagant, whether or no we have not taken as much Pains with our Living as our Neighbours. . . ."[38] And on the death of their daughter, Bridget and Richard acknowledged the possibility of eternal punishment but reckoned that death at the hands of her parents was preferable to a life at the mercy of the cruelties of eighteenth-century London:

> We apprehend that taking our Child's Life away to be a Circumstance for which we shall be generally condemn'd; but for our own Parts, we are perfectly easy upon that Head. We are satisfied it is less Cruelty to take the Child with us, even supposing a State of Annihilation, as some dream of, than to leave her friendless in the World, expos'd to Ignorance and Misery.[39]

To cap the emotion of the account and to produce pity for the Smiths, one of the letters, one by Richard, asked a Mr. Brightred for a final favor. "If you could find any Chap for my Dog and antient Cat, it would be kind."[40]

After the murder of children, suicide afforded the Gazette with its best source of sensational news. Suicide reports could be bland, but any way to embellish them for shock value or readership interest was often utilized. A July 15, 1732 Charleston suicide provides such an example. A white servant "wilfully drowned himself in the Black River," the news item on page 4 reported. The discovery of the body added gruesomeness to the account. "He was found the next Day floating on the river with half a Score Alligators, about him, that had made no Scruple of working upon the poor Fellow's Carcas pretty sufficiently."

Other suicide accounts furnished the reader with moral issues, while providing the chance for a chuckle after finishing the article:

> We hear . . . that a certain Tradesman's Wife . . . dying on Tuesday, her Husband buried her on the Wednesday, married again on the Thursday, his new Wife was brought to Bed on the Friday, & he hanged himself on the Saturday. A rare Week's Work.[41]

Humor in the face of tragedy did not escape Whitmarsh, and he used the tragedy of accidental death to entertain just as he did suicide accounts. A Dublin lass, standing in her father's shop, had the misfortune of having a dog chase a water rat up her petticoat. The rat was removed, but the young woman "fell into Fits, and died in a short time."[42]

Although Whitmarsh selected some stories of murder and death for their comic relief, most accounts of death in the *Gazette* presented short, biting statements much like the one about alligators consuming the suicide victim's body. From London, a triple murder account disclosed that a widow, her niece and maid "were barbarously murder'd. . . . Mrs. Duncomb was strangled; a young Woman, about 17 or 18, had her Throat cut from Ear to Ear; and the other was strangled & stabbed in the Throat."[43] Other murder reports definitely produced a knee-jerking response because of their repulsiveness. One sentence clipped from Dublin told of the execution of three men, one for burglary, another for cow stealing and the third "for the Murder of Mr. Johnson, a Quaker, by broiling him on a Griddle."[44]

Humankind's sinful nature did not escape Whitmarsh's selection of articles for the *South Carolina Gazette* either. The evils of alcohol were the chief sin expounded. From London came the description of the rape and murder of a woman three months pregnant. The crimes took place on board an East India ship. Five sailors, getting thoroughly drunk, accosted the woman, and "after having abused the Woman's Body by lying with her, and committing other Outrages, they threw her over Board, with a Rope fastened to her, and tow'd her after the Boat till she was drown'd."[45] A Boston tragedy re-enforced the potential evils of alcohol in a less dramatic manner. There, a man "carrying home a Bottle of Rum, one of his Children saw it and would needs have some of it, they gave it about a Spoonful, but the Child still craving for more, they gave it about half a spoonful more, and it died in a few Minutes."[46]

While the news accounts played upon moral issues, they rarely invoked direct biblical injunctions. One man, on his way to execution in Charleston, admitted to the error of his ways through "Lying, Swearing, Theft, Whoring, and a general Neglect of Divine Ordinances"[47] and therefore said that he deserved to die. In another edition of the Gazette, however, Whitmarsh cleverly inserted scripture after the news item. It seems that a young Londoner sought to spend his evening in "one of the miserable Houses of false Pleasure" in Covent-Garden. In bed with the prostitute, another man, "One of the good Lady's Bullies," entered the room around midnight to rob the young man. The young man made it out of bed but was killed in the scuffle. The murder's report ended with the following: "'Tis said, he was deservedly the darling son of an excellent Mother, and . . . was come to the Possession of a plentiful Estate.'"[48] Following the story in the next paragraph was "The Seventh Chapter of the Proverbs, in a poetical Dress, being the Description of a HARLOT."[49] Whitmarsh, with the scriptural insertion, had made his editorial and biblical comment upon the events in the London brothel. The consequences of sin still invoked a wrathful God's judgment. .

In 1732 and 1733, South Carolina still contained much unsettled land, and traveling away from Charleston exposed one to the dangers of the wilderness. In South Carolina that could mean Indians, highwaymen or pirates, and in the case of travel by sea, the dangers of the elements of nature. Frequent news articles in the *South Carolina Gazette* during this period told of robberies, murders and natural disasters involved with travel. These accounts, no doubt, played on personal fears of colonists who could read into newspaper accounts the potential for similar disaster for themselves. In one London story, the Post-Boy was stopped just outside the city and told to sound his horn. The two villains then informed the boy that his horn was his death peal. They slit his throat and his horse's. The same two men then stopped a man in a "Chaise," robbed him and murdered him "by cutting his throat and almost his Head off."[30] In another story, a servant was found on a Dublin road. A robber had "broke his Skull, cut off his Nose, pull'd out his Eyes, [and] stript off his Breeches" all for "two Bottles of Wine and a Sugar Loaf."[31]

The native Americans of South Carolina were vital to the colony's success in 1732. Trade with the Indians provided the colonists with some necessities, but the ever expanding white settlements were likewise a danger to the Indians. Traders often brought back reports of murders like that of Petee Shaw "murdered, and scalp'd, and his Servant about ten Yards distant cruelly wounded, with his Head cut."[32] Likewise, water provided the majority of Charleston's supplies, transportation and news of the rest of the world. Accounts of Charleston residents drowning while traveling upon its rivers appeared along with those of the danger of pirates on the seas.[33] Storms of any kind, especially involving thunder and lightning, reminded residents of the danger of the elements when traveling on the ocean or even in remaining home.[34]

Only the fear of epidemics exceeded that of violence while traveling. Disease accounted for the deaths of Whitmarsh and his competitor at the *South Carolina Weekly Gazette*, Eleazer Phillips. Reports of smallpox epidemics in communities or colonies that had trade and correspondence with Charleston could be considered more than sensational reporting, but the report of one "melancholy Accident" from London played upon the fears of the readers as it told of a tragic spread of smallpox. A hearse brought a corpse back to a neighborhood for burial, and according to the account, almost everyone in the village attended the funeral. "But this very Hearse . . . having just before carried a Corpse that died of the Small-Pox, and burnt in it, brought such an Infection with it, as few of the Company escaped. This Distemper so terrible to Country People broke out in above forty Families at once."[38] Even paying last respects to a loved one, the story suggested, could be a forebearer of death.

Laced throughout the *South Carolina Gazette* during Whitmarsh's tenure were reports of rape, jilted lovers and sordid accounts of octogenarians marrying. These news reports were entertaining and sometimes fascinating. They often appealed to the baser side of people and usually were purely entertainment. Occasionally, their presentation was in poor taste at best, disgusting at worst. In this last category was the July 21, 1733 "News from Dublin." All of the events in this account were transcribed to "heroic verse," including murder, attempted rape and rape.

> Last Saturday a poor Man near Ashton's was found,
> But it is not known who he is, nor where he drown'd.
> The same Day a Woman, going along Bolton-Street,
> Being big with Child, a rude fellow chanc'd to meet,
> Who ask'd her to go with him, in which she being slack,
> With a Pen-knife he barb'rously cut her down the Back.
> Near Montown, a young Fellow met a Girl of threescore
> In the Fields; and most rudely attack'd her before

> She cast her Eyes round, and could see no Assistance;
> So wisely lay still, and made little Resistance.
> At last, on the Castle, she looking upright,
> Spy'd some Gentlemen laughing at the comical Sight:
> Then hideously scream'd out, a Rape, a Rape, a Rape!
> The Fellow run for his Life, and made his Escape.[56]

Another time, the divorce trial of a London couple was placed in the *Gazette*. The wife claimed "Insufficiency" on the part of her husband, but the court ruled the couple needed to try again because "some matters being rectify'd; and he was now sufficient."[57]

Sex and the aged made good reading as well. Two beggars, whose combined age was 160, joined in marriage in London. After a feast on thirty pounds of potatoes and cheese, "The Marriage was consecrated in a Barn, beside of a Hay-Mow which in the Night fell on the new married couple, who calling out for Assistance, a person that was passing by, went in and removed the Hay, & took them out naked and almost smothered."[58] Another story told of an eighty-year-old dueling a seventy-year-old for the hand of a young woman in marriage,[59] while another reported that a "Widow of 70 Years old was married to a Youth of 19."[60] These accounts were evidently very popular in Charleston because of the frequency of their appearance.

For Whitmarsh, sensational news was a mainstay in the *South Carolina Gazette's* menu of offerings. Murder, rape, robbery, fear of natural disasters and the curiosity of elderly marriages were the topics that dominated the sensational reports, but news of a "monstrous Birth,"[61] sea monsters[62] and vampires[63] did not elude the *Gazette's* list of sensational news. Whitmarsh's newspaper ceased publication suddenly in September 1733 after the printer succumbed to yellow fever. For the next five months, Charleston was without a paper. When the *South Carolina Gazette* resumed publication on February 2, 1734, the people of Charleston were treated to a different newspaper under the direction of Louis Timothée. News was more singular in purpose, and advertisements dominated each weekly edition. Still, the French-born and Dutch-trained printer knew a gut-wrenching and sensational news account when he saw one and made sure the *Gazette* included such offerings in its weekly fare.

Lewis Timothy: "Deplorable" News and Terrible Storms

When Lewis Timothy arrived in Charleston in February 1734 to assume the role of government printer, the South Carolina port city had been without a newspaper since the previous September. Although the name of the newspaper did not change under Timothy's tenure, the *South Carolina Gazette*'s content initially did. News of Europe dominated the newspaper, and the practice of using a variety of news derived from a variety of sources, as Whitmarsh had done, temporarily vanished from the *Gazette*. The change may be explained by Timothy's European heritage. It may also be explained by Charleston's growing overseas trade, which surpassed that of Boston by the mid-1730s.[64] Nor can the influence of Franklin be discounted. In fact, part of the transformation of the newspaper--the increase in the amount of advertising--can be traced directly to Franklin. Franklin, by his own admission, provided Timothy with the capital and press to serve as the printer in Charleston.[65] Timothy, in order to help pay off his debt to his Philadelphia benefactor, ran two or more pages of ads each week when he resumed the *Gazette*'s publication.

Despite the large number of ads and the singular nature of news in Timothy's *South Carolina Gazette*, the newspaper often included sensational news, like that which permeated Whitmarsh's weekly fare. Just like his predecessor, Timothy relied upon the crimes of murder and rape for the bulk of his "deplorable" news, as he sometimes referred to it. Storms,[66] oddities dealing with women, tragic accidents and strange events ran with regularity.

Murder and rape combined for one of the most graphic portrayals of crime in Timothy's run as the Gazette's printer. The report gathered many elements of sensationalism--morbid entertainment, sex, morality--into one powerful account. Two men, "warmed with Liquor," met a woman walking home alone after a day's work with her husband. When the group entered the churchyard,

> the two young Rogues began to attack the Woman's Chastity, and she 'tis said, resisted with all her Power; however they proved too strong for her, and had knowledge of her Body several times, and the Woman . . . being troubled with an Asthma, was by the violence they used, suffocated in the very Act, and by their own confession they had carnal knowledge of her body several times after she was dead, and when they were satiated they left her lying in the same posture as they had used her, viz. on her back, with her Coats thrown over her Face, her legs extended, and the Parts bare, and in that posture she was found the next day.[27]

The rape and murder of the young London woman was probably surpassed in "Oh, My God" response by the disgusting report of the murder of a daughter in Philadelphia. The father and stepmother of the fourteen-year-old, it seems, forced the girl to remain outside most of the time. This, the account said, "produced grievous Sickness and Lameness" for the girl.

> [I]nstead of supplying her with Necessaries and due Attendance they treated her with the utmost Cruelty and Barbarity, suffering her to lie and rot in her nastiness, and when she cried for Bread giving her into her Mouth, with an Iron Ladle, her own Excrements to eat, with a great Number of other Circumstances of the like Nature, so that she languished and at length died.[28]

Murder was sensational news, but Timothy included accounts of accidental death that matched or exceeded most murders in its sensational nature. The "grinding" of Samuel Smith may be Timothy's best sensational accidental death inclusion. Smith, who had gone to a Boston grist mill to grind his meal, fell victim to the mill's grinding wheels. Speculation, the news account said, was the best that could be ascertained about the incident. The report of Smith's death reckoned that he was

> catched by the left hand between the Top of the Cogg Wheel and fell upon the Bridge-tree, and then his Body was forced back again between the Cogg Wheel and the Bridge tree, where is no more Room than three Inches and an Half, the Coggs came across his Breast while his Back was crouded against the Bridge-tree, which brake in his Breast-bone and Back in two Places, and all his Ribs on both Sides, and both Shoulders, so that his Bones came out through the Skin, and as the Cogg Wheel carried him through by the Bridge-tree he fell down into the Water all over except his head.[69]

The account left the sound of snapping bones in the ears of the reader, and it added one more cruel twist. "His Boy being a fishing hard by in the Mill-Pond, observing the Mill almost to stop, went to see what was the Matter, and found his Father in the Water. . . ."[70]

Timothy balanced the gruesomeness of death in the above accounts with several oddities involving women. One dealt with the "Daughter of a famous Attorney" in Paris. Once reaching the age of sixteen, the young girl "chang'd her Sex." After that the "young man" "made Application to the Parliament to be confirm'd in the Priviledges of Manhood." The court, upon examining "the said Person heretofore a Girl, [decreed he] shall be henceforward deem'd a Man." If the sex change were not enough, the female-become-male now became her-his father's oldest son, and the court ruled that "she shall take Place in the Inheritance of her Father's Estates," but her younger brother appealed to the court declaring that he was still the elder son.[71] Another tale from France told of a young woman who spent four years in military service and in battle for her country. The young woman's secret was not discovered until a wash woman reported her.[72]

In Timothy's five years as the *South Carolina Gazette*'s printer, women dominated the sensational news. Rapes are obvious examples, but as already seen, many of the murders involved women either as the victim or as the murderer, especially of infants, and women becoming or posing as men obviously fascinated Timothy and his readers. Marriage and adultery filled another niche of the Gazette's sensational news, and infidelity usually led to murder. One story with a Philadelphia dateline related how two men had formed a successful business partnership. One of the men, however, conspired to murder his partner with the help of the partner's wife. While the two were committing the murder, the woman, "her Heart failing her when the thing was to be done . . . run [sic] out of the house and cried *Murder*."[73] The woman's accomplice found himself shortly in prison, but he did not stay there. The account says his betrayal by the woman

> enrag'd him so . . . that having broken out [of prison] the Night preceeding . . . he went and found her at the Home where she liv'd, stabbed her in several places in the Body with a clasp Knife, and having left her for dead, he came back to the Prison-door . . . all bloody, with the Knife in his Hand, declaring that he had taken his Revenge and kill'd the B_____h. . . .[74]

Just living with a woman, in some of the incidents related by the *Gazette*, was enough to make a man kill himself. A London man, thrown in prison for failure to pay a maintenance to his estranged wife, "shot himself through the Head, and instantly died."[75] Just outside of Charleston in St. John's parish, "one Williams, a Taylor by Trade . . . living unhappy with his Wife, shot himself through the Head."[76] In other reports, women met with tragic deaths by burning,[77] or they were the victim of vicious attacks, as the *Gazette* reported was the case in Dublin. The young woman, the story recounted, was "big with Child" and happened to be the first unfortunate soul to encounter a large "Mastiff Dog" that was usually kept caged. The dog attacked the woman, "tore her Breasts" and sent her into labor. The child was born dead, and the woman was left "without Hope of Recovery."[78]

At times, news accounts of women entertained, exhibited a forward-thinking approach to women's rights and probably made many of the Gazette's readers shake their heads in disbelief. A women's tribunal that convicted and sentenced a husband in Philadelphia for abusing his wife provided just such a story. The man was dunked three times in the river and had half his beard and hair cut off "to the great Diversion of the Spectators."[79]

Entertainment in the *South Carolina Gazette* under Timothy did not depend solely upon women. Timothy found news around Charleston and in the correspondence arriving in the city that provided entertaining and fascinating reading while at the same time eliciting a sympathetic response from the reader that had nothing to do with women. The selections ran the gamut. Death might be involved like the story of a young boy and his slave companion dying arm-in-arm in the Stono River.[80] The hangman, liquor and a minister combined for another such account. Here, the preacher, accompanying the convicted men to the gallows, barely escaped swinging from a noose when a drunk hangman slipped a rope around the preacher's neck along with the two convicted men.[81] Oddities of nature or monsters captured space in the paper. A sea monster's skin was reported on display in Boston,[82] while flies as big as pigeons, another Gazette entry said, could be found in North Carolina.[83] One of the best stories provided purely for entertainment told of a dog hanging onto a man who had fallen through the ice on the Merrimack River in Boston. The man fell through the ice three times, and the dog grabbed his arm each time before humans responded and aided the dog in the rescue mission.[84]

In one way Timothy created a greater amount of sensationalism than Whitmarsh. He did it by arousing fear among his readership by playing up events that directly affected them. The fear of traveling, especially the dangers of sea travel became even more pronounced, probably because of the ever-increasing role of Charleston merchants in national and international trade. But Timothy realized the fear of travel went beyond mercantile interests. The fear was rooted in the sudden occurrence of smallpox,[25] the increasing hostilities of Native Americans, the rising threat of Spanish invasion and the growing rumors of slave rebellion.

Growth of the white population in the colony explains much of the fears associated with Native Americans. As European settlers spread westward from Charleston, contact with the Indians grew. Colonists knew that Indian traders like George Stevens risked death in their travels into Indian territory. Stevens met his end, the Gazette reported, at the hands of an Indian tribe called the "Alabamers." Stevens' body was found with "Three cuts on the Head, one on the back & sculp'd [sic], his left hand was split to the wrist, his left shoulder jointed, his Stomach cut open to his Belly, and prick'd all over the Body."[26] News of the murder of families, however, aroused fear in anyone living in the "unsettled" areas of the colony lying inland from Charleston. On November 27, 1736, the Gazette reported just such a "Deplorable" massacre on the Santee River. A man returning home found "his Wife, another three Women, three Children and a Negro murder'd and burnt. . . ." Indians perpetrated the crime.[27] Another news report told of the "Natives" cutting off a ship captain's head with a hatchet.[28]

Indian hostilities were not the only fears for South Carolina residents. England's continued conflicts with France and Spain meant that sea travel and trade with Europe and the other colonies could be severed at any time. Part of the *South Carolina Gazette*'s change in focus toward international news centered on the escalation of these conflicts. The first cries of war and the possible invasion of South Carolina appeared in February 1737. "Our Government at present is busy in making all necessary Preparations to prevent an Invasion, and Vessels well manned are sent out to cruize [sic] on this Coast."[89] Spanish raids were feared by January 1738 and reported in Georgia that August.

Raids by the Spanish, however, did not arouse the greatest fear among South Carolinians; slave revolts did. This was one subject that permeated the *South Carolina Gazette* under Timothy. The newspaper ran accounts of slave revolts in the Caribbean and other American colonies. Regardless of whether the revolts were real or imagined, any account of an African accosting a white settler increased the fear among South Carolinians. Reports of slave revolts in the Caribbean appeared with regularity in the *Gazette*. From March 1734 through October 1736, the newspaper kept its readers informed of the Caribbean problems. The first told "the deplorable News that the Negroes on the Island St. Johns near St. Thomas's, had intirely massacred all the white People on that Island, consisting of about 200 Families, and were very inhuman in the Execution of their Murders."[90] Along with the rebellion news from the Caribbean came accounts of attempted rape by a slave of a twelve-year-old girl[91] and three slaves' robbery of a home[92] Both events took place in Charleston. A news account of Trenton, New Jersey Negroes working out a plan to poison whites exacerbated the problems in South Carolina,[93] and by September 1738, the fear of slave revolt in South Carolina had been realized. The Gazette, in its official capacity, carried "An Account for the further Security and better Defense of this Province," following the Stono slave revolt south of Charleston.[94]

Although the coverage of smallpox, Indian trouble, possible Spanish invasion and slave revolts up and down the Atlantic coast may be considered good reporting, such stories were not precipitated solely by facts. All that was necessary for inclusion in the Gazette was rumor: "We hear from" is the way the accounts sometimes began. There can be little doubt that these reports elicited an "Oh, my God" response because of the impending danger they represented. They also ensured the selling of newspapers because every citizen wanted to stay abreast of imminent personal danger.

Because Timothy's *South Carolina Gazette* allowed more space in each week's edition for advertisements, it had less room for news. Many times only one story of any kind appeared per week, and this fact made the *South Carolina Gazette* under Timothy less exciting to read than it had been under Thomas Whitmarsh. Timothy, however, made room for especially graphic accounts of murder and death. He found women to be an exceptional topic for sensational news, and it was rare for a crime to appear in his editions of the Gazette that did not have a woman as victim, accomplice or murderer. Often, Timothy took a death that could have been omitted from the Gazette or could have appeared as an obituary and supplied just the right turn to make a news account shocking, morbid or thrilling. Death by drowning, for example, was not enough. Timothy had to add about the victim, "No doubt but the Alligator made a good Breakfast of him."[illegible] Sensationalism, under Timothy and Whitmarsh before him, pervaded the *South Carolina Gazette*.

Conclusion

Although the *South Carolina Gazette* was only one of the twelve colonial newspapers in existence in 1750,[illegible] it demonstrates that sensationalism thrived during the colonial period in Charleston. This examination is only a preliminary study of whether sensationalism existed in the colonial press. The abundance of sensational news in the Gazette does raise speculation about the amount of sensationalism that may have appeared in all the newspapers of this period. Whether sensationalism existed in Philadelphia, New York and Boston to the extent it did in Charleston during this time period is another question. Whether sensationalism appeared throughout the colonial period is another question this study raises but cannot answer.

The sensationalism of the *South Carolina Gazette* from 1732-1738 was every bit as graphic in its accounts as the sensationalism of the nineteenth century. One striking distinction exists between the sensationalism of the colonial period and that of the Penny Press and the Yellow Journalists. Colonial sensationalism was one-time only in nature. Because news items, for the most part, were clipped from other newspapers, taken from other types of correspondence or received by travelers, there were rarely follow-ups. Bennett's Ellen Jewett murder trial series could not have existed in the weekly clip world of the 1730s. A local trial of such magnitude might deserve a mention at the execution or at the initial occurrence of the crime. The every day coverage, however, occurred on the street or in the tavern.[27] Like nineteenth-century sensationalism, however, the *South Carolina Gazette*'s sensationalism represents an intentional inclusion of specific news.

Another conclusion can be reached about the *South Carolina Gazette* under Whitmarsh and Timothy. Timothy's *South Carolina Gazette* took on a different tone than his predecessor's weekly paper. The change in news content can be attributed to Timothy's European ties, and the amount of ads can be attributed to Timothy's need to raise sufficient funds to pay off his benefactor, Benjamin Franklin. Because Timothy increased the number of ads in his four-page weekly, there was less room for news. Because of war in Europe and Timothy's emigré status, he clipped war news from all parts of the continent. The paper became less interesting to read and less informative. Whitmarsh believed in variety in news. He did not ignore hostilities in Europe, but he chose to mingle smaller amounts of foreign war correspondence with other types of news, especially sensationalism. Timothy, likewise believed in including sensational news, but Timothy's newspaper paled in comparison to Whitmarsh's editions.

Despite the difference in quality of the *South Carolina Gazette* under its first two printers, each provided his readers with sensationalism. Murder headed the list of sensational stories, just as it had done in seventeenth-century English broadsides and just as it would do in the nineteenth-century Penny Press and Yellow Journalism periods. Both Thomas Whitmarsh, the Gazette's founder, and Lewis Timothy, who followed him, knew that sensational stories sold newspapers. That's why Whitmarsh included the tragic account of the family in France dying and the baby falling prey to jaws of a pig. He realized that people, by nature, preferred reading the sensational to the mundane. Two clipped articles that appeared back-to-back in a 1732 edition demonstrate that understanding. The first spoke of a servant murdered on the highway. The murderer "broke his Skull, cut off his Nose, pull'd out his Eyes, stript off his Breeches, and took off from the Car two Bottles of Wine and a Sugar Loaf. . . ." The next news item read ". . . two young Noblemen are arrived . . . and 'tis said they design to take a Tour thro' the Northern Colonies."[illegible] In the Gazette, the former style of story grew while the latter faded from print. "Melancholy" accounts, accidents and affairs helped make the *South Carolina Gazette* of 1732-1738 sensational.

ENDNOTES

1. The *New York Herald* began its coverage of Jewett's murder on April 11, 1836. A prostitute, Jewett was found murdered in her bed, which had afterwards been set on fire. A wealthy citizen of New York, Richard Robinson, was accused of the murder after his cloak was found in the murder victim's room. Through the trial of Robinson, which began on June 2, 1836, Bennett ran little else in the *Herald*. See Sidney Kobre, *Development of American Journalism* (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers, 1969), 234-35; and Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism. A History: 1690-1960*, 3rd ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962), 232-33.

2. See John D. Stevens, *Sensationalism and the New York Press* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 55-100; Jean Folkerts and Dwight L. Teeter Jr., *Voices of a Nation* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1989), 265-74; Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, *The Press and America. An Interpretive History of the Mass Media*, 6th ed. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1988), 231-34; and Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism. A History: 1690-1960*, 3rd ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1962), 519-609.

3. Warren Francke, "An Argument in Defense of Sensationalism: Probing the Popular and Historiographical Concept," *Journalism History* 5 (1978): 72.

4. See John D. Stevens, *Sensationalism and the New York Press* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), and Mitchell Stephens, *A History of News. From the Drum to the Satellite* (New York: Viking Penquin, Inc., 1988).

5. Mott, 442.

6. Mitchell Stephens, "Sensationalism and Moralizing in 16th and 17th-Century Newsbooks and News Ballads," *Journalism History* 12 (1985): 93.

7. David Paul Nord, "Teleology and News: The Religious Roots of American Journalism, 1630-1730," *The Journal of American History* 77 (June 1990), 9.

8. At least one study has been done on sensationalism in the colonial period. Kenneth D. Nordin, "The Entertaining Press. Sensationalism in Eighteenth-Century Boston Newspapers," *Communication Research* 6 (1979): 295-320, uses a content-analysis approach to determine the amount of sensational news found in Boston newspapers from 1710-1784. In defining sensationalism for the purpose of news items to include in the analysis, Nordin employed two broad categories--stories of violence and nonviolent human interest stories. He based these categories on D. G. Clark and W. B. Blankenburg, "Trends in Violent Content in Selected Mass Media," in G. A. Comstock and E. A. Rubinstein, eds. *Television and Social Behavior*, vol. I (Washington, D.C.: National Institute for Mental Health, 1972). As a result, any mention of war became a sensational story. Nordin's approach was refuted in Warren Francke, "An Argument in Defense of Sensationalism: Probing the Popular and Historiographical Concept," *Journalism History* 5 (1978): 71. Franke said of "The Entertaining Press," "[T]he amount of space is the crudest measurement of treatment. Only by neglecting treat-

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ment, as the Boston study does, and discarding dictionary definitions can all war news be categorized as sensational."

9. Nord, 9.

10. Stephens, "Sensationalism and Moralizing in 16th and 17th-Century Newsbooks and News Ballads," 93.

11. *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), 16 October 1729.

12. Mott, 442.

13. Perry H. Tannenbaum and Mervin D. Lynch, "Sensationalism: the Concept and Its Measurement," *Journalism Quarterly* 37 (1960): 382.

14. Donald L. Shaw and John W. Slater, "In the Eye of the Beholder? Sensationalism in the American Press News, 1820-1860," *Journalism History* 12 (1985): 87.

15. Emery, 115.

16. Stevens, 5.

17. George Juergens, *Joseph Pulitzer and the New York World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), viii-ix, in Stevens, 5.

18. Stephens, *A History of News. From the Drum to the Satellite*, 108.

19. *Evening-Post* (Boston), 27 March 1741.

20. A. S. Salley, "First Presses of South Carolina," Proceedings and Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America II (1908), 29-30; Edward McGrady, *The History of South Carolina under Royal Government, 1719-1776* (New York: Macmillan, 1899), 144.

21. Hennig Cohen, *The South Carolina Gazette* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1953), 4.

22. Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Colonial Printer* (Portland, Maine: The Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1938), 43.

23. Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America* (1810, reprint, New York: Weathervane Books, 1970), 566n.

24. Sidney Kobre, *The Development of the Colonial Newspaper* (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1960), 88; Richard Beale Davis, *Intellectual Life in the Colonial South, 1585-1763*, vol. 2 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1978), 605. There are no extant copies of the *South Carolina Weekly Gazette*.

25. Kobre, *The Development of Colonial Journalism*, 89; Wroth, 44.

26. Kobre, *The Development of Colonial Journalism*, 88; Marion Reynolds King, "One Link in the First Newspaper Chain, the *South Carolina Gazette*," *Journalism Quarterly* 9 (1932): 258.

27. *South Carolina Gazette*, 8 January 1832, 2.

28. For a full account of the literary publications of the *South Carolina Gazette*, see Elizabeth Christine Cook, *Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers 1704-1750* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1912).

29. King, 258.

30. Benjamin Franklin, *Autobiography* (Roslyn, NY: Walter J. Black, Inc., 1941), 152. The contractual arrangements between Franklin and Timothy are described in greater detail in "Articles of Agreement Between Benjamin Franklin and Lewis Timothy, 1733," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXX (1906), 104; and Ira L. Baker, "Elizabeth Timothy: America's First Woman Editor," *Journalism Quarterly* 54 (1977): 281-82.

31. Thomas, 567; Baker, 282.

32. Ian K. Steele, *The English Atlantic 1675-1740. An Exploration of Communication and Community* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 31-33, 40.

33. Ibid., 33.

34. *South Carolina Gazette*, 8 January 1732, 3-4.

35. Ibid., 3.

36. Ibid., 16 December 1732, 3.

37. Ibid., 26 August 1732, 1.

38. Ibid., 2.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid., 1.

41. Ibid., 6 January 1732/3, 3.

42. Ibid., 16 June 1733, 3.

43. Ibid., 9 June 1733, 2.

44. Ibid., 17 February 1732/3, 3.

45. Ibid., 29 April 1732, 3.

46. Ibid., 21 July 1733, 3.

47. Ibid., 1 April 1732, 3.

48. Ibid., 12 February 1732, 2.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid., 14 July 1733, 3.

51. Ibid., 24 June 1732, 3.

52. Ibid., 18 August 1732, 4.

53. Ibid., 27 May 1732, 4; 23 June 1733, 2, 3.

54. Ibid., 5 August 1732, 3; 13 January 1733, 3; 27 January 1733, 2; 24 February 1733, 3; 3 March 1733, 3; 10 March 1733, 3; 17 March 1733, 2, 3; 8 September 1733, 3.

55. Ibid., 9 September 1732, 3.

56. Ibid., 21 July 1733, 3.

57. Ibid., 10 June 1733, 3.

58. Ibid., 2 December 1732, 3.

59. Ibid., 16 December 1732, 2.

60. Ibid., 18 November 1732, 3.

61. Ibid. 26 February 1732, 3.

62. Ibid., 23 September 1732, 3.

63. Ibid., 8 July 1732, 3.

64. Steele, 34.

65. Franklin, *Autobiography*, 152.

66. Under Timothy, the *South Carolina Gazette* reported lightning storms, hurricanes, earthquakes, volcanos and tornados from all over Europe and America. At least twenty separate accounts appeared from 1734-1738.

67. *South Carolina Gazette*, 13 April 1734, 2.

68. Ibid., 14 December 1734, 1-2.

69. Ibid., 3 September 1737, 2.

70. Ibid.

71. Ibid., 22 February 1734/5, 3.

72. Ibid., 8 January 1737, 3.

73. Ibid., 4 December 1736, 2.

74. Ibid.

75. Ibid., 29 May 1736, 2.

76. Ibid., 1 January 1737, 3.

77. Ibid., 1 January 1737, 3; 15 April 1738, 1.

78. Ibid., 1 December 1737, 2.

79. Ibid., 7 June 1735, 2.

80. Ibid., 22 January 1737, 2.

81. Ibid., 16 November 1738, 2.

82. Ibid., 10 August 1734, 2.

83. Ibid., 11 June 1737, 3.

84. Ibid., 21 May 1737, 2.

85. Smallpox broke out in Charleston in mid-1738. From May 4 through October 5, 1738, the Gazette ran ten different articles on smallpox. The October 5 edition listed the number of citizens who had the disease and subsequently died from it.

86. *South Carolina Gazette*, 5 April 1735, 2.

87. Ibid., 27 November 1736, 2.

88. Ibid., 11 June 1737, 1.

89. Ibid., 19 February 1737, 1.

90. Ibid., 2 March 1734, 2.

91. Ibid., 20 September 1735, 2.

92. Ibid., 11 June 1737, 2.

93. Ibid., 15 April 1738, 1.

94. Ibid., 21 September 1738, 3. The *South Carolina Gazette* made no mention of the actual slave revolt in the colony.

95. Ibid., 2 March 1734, 3.

96. Kobre, *The Development of the Colonial Newspaper*, 94.

97. Stephens, *A History of News*, 41-47.

98. *South Carolina Gazette*, 24 June 1732, 3.

Murphy's Speech: The Language of Class and Power in Newspaper Coverage of an 1857 Prize Fight

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Murphy's Speech: The Language of Class and Power in Newspaper Coverage of an 1857 Prize Fight

The crowd lined the sidewalks and spilled into the intersection of South and Penn streets, all the time keeping an eye on the second-floor windows above Dominick Bradley's saloon. It was August 4, 1857, a hot Tuesday evening in the predominantly Irish and working-class Moyamensing section of Philadelphia, and the group was waiting for a glimpse of and a word from Dominick Bradley, recently returned from Buffalo, New York, and a bare-knuckle prize fighting win over fellow Philadelphian S.S. Rankin. The crowd, growing more excited as time passed, was there to share in his glory. When finally a figure appeared at a second-floor window, it was not Bradley.

A reporter for the Philadelphia Sun, who chose to remain on the sidewalk rather than enter "the den amongst a lot of thieving rascals," described the scene for his readers.

> A fellow named MURPHY, said to be a waiter in Girard House, made himself very conspicuous in the window, and introduced DOMINICK...MURPHY then came to the window with a tumbler, and, after stirring it around, said, "Boys, this is champagne--don't it look nice?" MURPHY then made a speech and said to the audience.., "Fellers, yer DOMINICK (rubbing the head of the latter) he whipped his man as a man ought to whip another; three cheers for the shamrock, and one for the citizens that don't like the fight."[1]

Before long a Lieutenant Carson of the Philadelphia police and his posse broke up the gathering. The scene never became violent; rather, it was a raucous, carnivalesque celebration of a subcultural ritual, the successful outcome of a prize fight. The *Sun* used the scene to begin its coverage of the Bradley-Rankin fight, and in many ways, both the scene and the newspaper's interpretation of it speak volumes about working-class, Irish-Catholic culture in antebellum American cities. It contains in microcosm virtually all the elements of prize fighting to which middle-class America objected: the very illegality and violence of the fight; its association with saloons, gambling and almost-exclusive masculinity; its popularity with a working-class and immigrant group that was religiously different from the Protestant mainstream; and, of course, the success of Irish Catholics in the prize ring, a success that often came at the expense of native Americans and Protestants.[2] Bradley was an Irish-born Catholic; Rankin was an Irish-born Protestant. In Philadelphia, religious antagonism between Protestants and relatively recent Irish-Catholic immigrants had been simmering for more than a decade, which made some feel that the Bradley-Rankin bout would have been especially acrimonious.

This paper is a discourse analysis of newspaper coverage of the Bradley-Rankin prize fight. The investigation concentrates on the language of newspaper reports and the language of the waiter Murphy as he was quoted in the Sun's story as a way of unearthing the social and political implications of certain key words. In particular, I focus on the word "citizens," which Murphy used in contrast with "shamrock." How and why were these words used socially and politically by the Sun's reporter? More significantly, in what context did the Irish waiter, Murphy, use the words in the part of his address to the crowd quoted in the Sun? Murphy's oppositional use of the words "citizens" and "shamrock," I will argue, underscores not only a clash of cultural values concerning prize fighting, but also the ethnic, religious and political differences that existed between immigrant Irish and native-born American Protestants that emerge as the central issues in objections to the seemingly insignificant popular culture phenomenon of prize fighting. The most interesting fights, then, occurred outside the ring and were refought in the newspapers where, as John Fiske suggests, language became a terrain of struggle over cultural values.[3]

The street scene and the Sun's coverage of it are worth examining in detail, but I will hold that examination until later in this paper. I use the scene to establish a point upon which I will elaborate throughout: prize fighting in antebellum America represented, most obviously, a threat to the middle- and upper-class hegemony as reflected by mainstream newspapers; and, less obviously, for working-class Irish, at least in Philadelphia, it served as a source and vehicle of empowerment in a struggle of cultural values.

I use "hegemony" as does Antonio Gramsci in his collection of essays titled Prison Notebooks, to refer to the ideological "influence which the dominant group exercises throughout society" on two levels, "civil society, that is the ensemble of organisms commonly called `private,' and...political society, or `the State."[4]

This paper is divided into four parts. The first provides a brief historical background of prize fighting in America and the role of Frank Queen, the editor and publisher of the New York Clipper, who championed the cause of the prize ring. The second section offers a brief overview of the social and political challenges the immigrant Irish confronted in antebellum Philadelphia, focusing in particular on events in Philadelphia and New York City in the summer of 1857 when the Bradley-Rankin fight took place. The third part attempts to demonstrate that in newspaper treatment of the Bradley-Rankin fight both Bradley and the Irish-Catholic crowd celebrating his win are depicted as threats to both civil and political society. Mainstream newspaper coverage will be contrasted with that offered by Queen's Clipper, a weekly paper devoted exclusively to sports and entertainment news. The fourth part of the paper will return to Murphy's speech as reported in the Sun in an attempt to demonstrate that even while being depicted in a mainstream newspaper as thieves and ruffians beyond the pale of polite society, the Irish in Philadelphia used the occasion of Bradley's win as a social triumph, a political cause, and, ultimately, a way to further develop a sense of community in an alien culture.

I focus on three primary sources: the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, which was founded in 1847 by Alexander Cummings, who by 1857 was sympathetic to the emerging Republican party in Philadelphia; the Philadelphia Sun, a paper that started as a weekly in 1831 but was publishing daily in 1857; and the Clipper, established in 1853 by Queen, who was born and maintained a residence in Philadelphia where his publication circulated heavily.[5] The Bulletin devoted five times the space to coverage of the fight and its aftermath than did any other paper except the Clipper. The Sun was second among Philadelphia papers in terms of the number of column inches devoted to the fight. The Public Ledger, the most popular paper in the city at the time, covered the fight in just a paragraph. In New York, both the Tribune and the Times ran accounts taken from the Bulletin and the Sun and the Buffalo Commercial Advertiser.

NEWSPAPERS AND THE PRIZE RING IN AMERICA

Queen's role in publishing prize fighting news was huge and especially interesting in the case of the Bradley-Rankin bout. In his column in the first edition of the paper, May 7, 1853, Queen anchored his editorial focus and philosophy among the working class, distinguishing his publication thereby from what he came to call disparagingly "the respectable press."

Coming from among the masses, it is to them we

> mainly look for support....We can boast of no college education, and, therefore, cannot promise that vast fund of factual information, instruction and advice necessarily looked for from persons of class, yet...we will try to please.[6]

This awareness of the difference between his paper and the mainstream press became more pronounced over the years, especially as it concerned coverage of prize fighting, which was illegal by legislative decree in Massachusetts and construed to be illegal in other Northeastern states under laws against riot, mayhem, disorderly conduct, assault and even manslaughter.[7] One of Queen's cherished beliefs about prize fighting, one typical of the growing rhetoric of improving recreation in both England and America at the time, was that prize fighting with its often strictly enforced code of rules was morally superior to the "no-holds-barred" style of fighting done on city streets or on the American frontier and vastly superior to duelling with pistols, a method of settling disputes adopted by some members of the upper class.[8] Virtually every mainstream newspaper, though, editorialized against prize fighting as an immoral activity that spawned gambling and other crimes and that, significantly, was introduced to America largely through the efforts of Irish immigrants.[9] No less a personage than Thomas Jefferson, a generation earlier, argued that young Americans were corrupted by going for their education to England where they learned "drinking, horse racing and boxing."[10]

In what is said to be the first book-length criticism of the American press, Lambert Wilmer, an editor and reporter with thirty years experience, wrote in 1858 that Irish-immigrant prize fighters, even Irish-American fighters, should not be considered in any way as true American champions. Wilmer, who flew in the face of fact by theorizing that the American press was dominated by foreign-born reporters and editors, made the following observation about prize fighters.

> I am quite willing that Ireland, or any other foreign country, should have the credit of breeding them...Prize-fighting is not an American institution. The taste for this barbarous and vicious recreation is exotic; and what we find of it in America exists chiefly among our imported population and is cultivated and cherished by our foreign newspaper press.[11]

More often than not, the truth about prize fighting's value system could be found somewhere between Queen's insistence upon its improving qualities and other newspapers' catalogues of its evil influence. Ironically, the one instance where Queen's point of view seems to be upheld is the Bradley-Rankin fight in which the religious issue could have been so volatile as to produce nothing short of a riot both at the scene of the fight and in the streets of Philadelphia where thousands waited by the telegraph office for news of the result.[12] A further irony can be found in the fact that Queen was a Moyamensing-born Protestant whose father-in-law, Charles Hortz, was once president of Weccacoe Engine, a Protestant and Republican fire company that on at least one occasion fought violently with the Irish Weccacoe Hose Company.[13] None of that old animosity seems to figure in Queen's coverage of the Bradley-Rankin bout.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ETHNIC ANIMOSITY

On St. Patrick's Day in 1837 an Irishman who was a naturalized American citizen made a speech at the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia urging his fellow Irishmen to "show by your conduct that you are worthy of being naturalized citizens of a prosperous Republic."[14] The statement betrays both the eagerness with which the immigrant Irish sought to become part of their new nation and the wariness and inferiority they felt about their social role in an alien land.[15] Because of the potato famine in Ireland, the number of Irish immigrants to Philadelphia and other Northeastern cities increased tremendously in the antebellum period. From 1847 to 1860 a total of 1,107,034 Irish immigrants disembarked at the Port of New York. Specific immigration figures available for the period from August 1, 1855 through December 31, 1860 reveal that of those Irish disembarking at New York, 56,468 listed Philadelphia as their avowed destination.[16] Most of those Irish immigrants ended up in the Moyamensing, Southwark, Grays Ferry, Kensington and Port Richmond sections of the city. All of those sections were relatively poor, crowded and crime-ridden. All bordered the Delaware River and were located on the fringes of the more socially elite center city. In fact, all were separate townships, until the Act of

Consolidation of 1854 which increased the boundaries of the city. The motivation behind the 1854 consolidation was to establish and expand the jurisdiction of a strong police force to curtail crime in the predominantly Irish areas. Ironically, the consolidation also thrust the Irish, who largely supported the Democratic party, into a greater role in Philadelphia politics.[17]

Ethnic hatred of the Irish in Philadelphia began as early as the 1830s, but it reached a violent peak in May and July of 1844 when bloody riots erupted pitting native-born Protestants against Irish-Catholic immigrants. The riots were caused not just by ethnic and religious differences, but by labor disputes, overcrowding and even forms of violent recreational competition among fire companies that were organized around religious orientation.[18]

By the summer of 1857 when Bradley fought Rankin, ethnic animosity and fear of the Irish as both lawless drunks and as a political force were at their heights in both Philadelphia and New York City. In the 1854 mayoral election in Philadelphia, Robert T. Conrad, a member of the anti-Catholic Nativist, on Know-Nothing, party who regarded immigrant paupers as the chief source of disorder in the city, defeated Democrat Richard Vaux. Conrad angered the Irish by appointing only native-born Americans to his police force and by strictly enforcing Sunday liquor laws.[19] Conrad retired after his two-year term, and in 1856 Vaux, with the help of William "Boss" McMullen, the political leader of the

Irish in the Fourth Ward, which comprised the Moyamensing and Southwark sections, defeated Nativist candidate Henry D. Moore, who was also backed by the temperance movement. Interestingly, both Moore and all of the mainstream Philadelphia press attacked the alliance between Vaux and McMullen, who had a deserved reputation as a tough ward leader with connections to the criminal element. As a result of these attacks, Vaux publicly disavowed his connection with McMullen while privately courting his support.[20] By the summer of 1857, though, McMullen, who owned a saloon and served as the president of the Democratic and Irish Catholic Moyamensing Hose Company, was back in the limelight when he announced his intention to run for city alderman against wealthy incumbent Abram Megary. McMullen, who aligned himself with the poor during his campaign and for the rest of his long political career, won the election.[21] At the time of the Bradley-Rankin prize fight, McMullen was identified by the city's social elite as a dangerous and potentially powerful man.

The political and social situation in New York City in the summer of 1857 paralleled that in Philadelphia; and, because of deadly riots involving Irish and Protestant street gangs on July 4 and 5 that received considerable newspaper coverage throughout the Northeast, the New York situation intensified fear and hatred of working-class Irish in Philadelphia. Members of the upper and middle classes felt even more threatened by the Irish poor, who seemed to share none of their values. In New York City, the mayor's office was held by Democrat Fernando Wood, who, as did Vaux in Philadelphia, won with the support of the Irish and was said to have connections with the city's criminal element. And Wood, like Vaux, was opposed in the election by a native-born Protestant who had the backing of both the anti-Irish contingent and social reformers who sought to end corruption in the city.[22]

During his administration, Wood was charged with being lax about police corruption, which led to an attempt to abolish the Municipal Police and Police Board under Superintendent George W. Matsell, a Wood appointee, and to establish in its place a Metropolitan Police District under the leadership of Captain George W. Walling, who had the support of the state legislature in Albany and civic-minded reformers in the city. Proponents of this realignment hoped that the creation of a new force would remove its members from undue influence by elected officials, but the New York Herald observed that the establishment of the Metropolitan police seemed to be an ill-disguised attempt to name only native-born Republicans to the force. Wood and the Municipal force resisted the change, and the result was that during 1857 New York City had two police forces that often fought with each other rather than against the criminals. On July 4 and 5, 1857, when the dispute between the Municipal police, who remained loyal to Wood, and the Metropolitan police was at its height, a riot broke out pitting Irish gangs from the

Five Points section against native-American gangs from the nearby Bowery. The battle between the Irish Dead Rabbits and Plug Uglies against the Bowery B'hoys and the Atlantic Guards continued unabated for two days and resulted in eight deaths and more than a hundred injuries before the National Guard, rather than the rival New York police forces, restored order. In terms of public opinion, most New York City newspapers castigated the Irish as thugs and gangsters who were solely responsible for the riot. In fact, they named the riot after the Irish gang, calling the two-day skirmish the Dead Rabbits Riot and neglecting to include any of the other gangs in the title.[23]

Philadelphia newspapers carried reports of the riot, and Philadelphia had similar gangs of tough young men whose base of operation was in the poorer sections of the city, especially Moyamensing and Southwark. As was the case in New York, the gangs were organized around religious and ethnic backgrounds. An Irish-Catholic gang named the Killers aligned themselves with Bill McMullen and the Moyamensing Hose Company. The Killers were masters of violence and mayhem, but on some occasions their mayhem had a political edge to it. Reactions to the Killers varied according to social class and neighborhood. They were loathed and feared by the center city elite. On the other hand, the people of Moyamensing thought of them as a positive force who, in the words of an 1846 pamphlet that glorified the gang, thought of the rich and employers as "cold extortionists; they seem to give employment as a gracious favor, while they suck drop by drop the blood and devour the vitals of their laborers."[24]

Gang warfare in Philadelphia became such a regular pastime that an area of Moyamensing was dubbed "The Battlefield," and opposing gangs met their regularly for combat with anything from fists to pistols. The place even began to attract spectators who watched the fights and offered encouragement to their favorites.[25]

A defender of the values of the prize ring, such as Frank Queen, would have been quick to divorce his sport, with its elaborate set of rules that originated in London decades earlier, from a street melee. In fact, Queen typically referred to pugilism as both a "manly art" and as "scientific," terms which suggested training and physical skill rather than brute force.[26]

To many observers, though, including newspaper editors, the Bradley-Rankin fight was little more than another version of a gang fight, another chapter in Philadelphia's long-smouldering rivalry between Protestants and Irish Catholics. The fight, they felt, would simply beget further violence.

CONTRASTING VERSIONS OF THE FIGHT

Typically, newspaper coverage of bare-knuckle pugilism dealt with the actual fight and often to a greater extent the events surrounding the fight. In the case of the Bradley-Rankin bout, the meeting took place three days before and miles removed from the scene at Bradley's saloon in Philadelphia. Late on a Saturday afternoon at Point Albino, Canada, an island in Lake Erie not far from Buffalo, Bradley took two hours and fifty-seven seconds to defeat Rankin, also a Philadelphia saloonkeeper and a member of the Philadelphia Protestant Association. Six thousand people took the trouble to reach the remote spot to watch the fight for a two thousand dollar purse, and newspapers throughout the Northeast devoted considerable column inches to pre- and post-fight stories.[27]

At least two reasons exist to explain why the fight drew considerable attention despite the fact that it was not for the Championship of America (a title held at the time by Irish immigrant John "Old Smoke" Morrissey). First, among the "fancy," those who followed the events of the prize ring, Bradley was considered to be a contender for Morrissey's championship. Second, both among the fancy and certainly among many of those living in Philadelphia and New York, the fight was seen as a religious war, a sporting event emblematic of the Irish Catholic and Protestant hostilities that fulminated anew that summer.

By most accounts, the fight turned out to be a disappointment.[28] Bradley was too experienced and too skilled for his opponent, leading to a one-sided bout despite its length; and, more significantly, the anticipated religious animosity never surfaced. Nevertheless, reports in the Bulletin of the fight and its social context reveal interpretations significantly different from Queen's.

In its first-day coverage of the fight, the Bulletin of August 3 contained the following passage.

> The scene on Saturday was most disgraceful, there was a great deal of drunkenness, and fights were innumerable outside the ring. Fifteen or twenty outside fights were in progress at one time. As soon as the fight was over the party returned to Buffalo, from which point they scattered as soon as possible, being apprehensive that Rankin would die, and that those who were present at the fight would be arrested.[29]

In addition, the fight was characterized as "unusually brutal," a theme that the Bulletin, which did not have a reporter on the scene, may have picked up from the Buffalo Commercial Advertiser. In its preview story on the fight, the Buffalo newspaper wrote: "The weight and strength of the combatants is such that we should not be surprised to hear of a fatal result."[30]

The Bulletin went on to comment on the celebration among Bradley's friends near his tavern in Philadelphia, noting: "The principals in this disgraceful business are both Irish, and both are tavern-keepers. The persons who have been most interested in the result are the lower class of the countrymen of the bruisers."[31] The account then cited the religious issue.

> Not the least disgusting feature of this disgusting business is the fact that religion...has been mixed up in it. Bradley, the victor, is a Catholic, or claims to be one, and the vanquished ruffian is a member of the Protestant Association. Catholicism and Protestantism are therefore dragged into the

> conflict, and men who scarcely know what either name implies are grieving over the result, or crowing with the victor, for the religious principles involved.[32]

Of course, Irish-Catholic victories of any kind in antebellum Philadelphia were reason for celebration among the Irish population. But the newspaper took special pains to point out that the mode of celebration was predominantly alcoholic, referring to "large consumption of bad rum" at Bradley's saloon by his friends as they awaited news from the fight. "The friends of the victor are mainly Irish, although flash characters of all nations appeared among them. Whisky and brandy suffered considerably."[33]

In its second-day coverage of August 4, the Bulletin noted, "Much sympathy has been excited for Rankin by the report that he was averse to fighting, and was only provoked to accept Bradley's challenge by hearing that he had avowed his willingness to fight any American or Irish Protestant."[34] The newspaper, then, did its utmost to denigrate the Irish-Catholic crowd at Bradley's saloon and to amplify the Catholic-Protestant quarrel that it claimed provoked the fight.

In his "City Summary" column in the Clipper of August 15, Frank Queen painted a different picture of the fight and its religious overtones. He acknowledged that the potential for a religious riot existed, and not just any riot but "one of the most sanguinary and bloody contests between the friends of the two parties ever witnessed in America."

Moreover, he noted that the religious animosity was fanned by "remarks of the press at large concerning the battle."[35] Queen was quick to point out that, according to the report in his publication, the fight was "one of the most peaceable ever fought in this country, and the utmost good humor prevailed among all who witnessed it." So placid was the scene that, Queen observed, "Papists and Orangemen mingled together in friendly discussion...The subject of religion was not broached on either side, and the `bloody conflict between the Papists and the Orangemen' did not come off, much to the disappointment and chagrin of `the respectable press.'"[36] The entire affair, he concluded, was a victory for "manly spirit" and the "rules governing the prize ring."

Queen's column in this instance is consistent with the body of his writing in the Clipper, which argued for the uplifting character of "sports for all the people," as its masthead cried with every issue. To what extent can Queen's report be taken as an accurate account of the nature of the Bradley-Rankin fight and the lack of religious hostility surrounding it at Point Albino? That question is impossible to answer definitively, but in contrast to the Bulletin's coverage, Queen's coverage may indeed be more accurate. The Clipper had a reporter at the fight; the Bulletin did not, relying instead on dispatches from the Buffalo Commercial Advertiser and reports coming back to Bradley's saloon.[37] Of course, the Clipper's reporter may have shared Queen's bias. But second-day coverage in the Bulletin seems to bear out many of Queen's contentions. On the day that Bradley arrived in Philadelphia, the Bulletin reporter interviewed him and treated him fairly in his story, noting that Bradley respected his opponent's "true grit." Moreover, on the subject of Bradley's challenging any native American or Protestant, the reporter quoted the winner directly, an unusual journalistic technique for the period. Bradley was quoted as saying:

> `I will give a hundred dollars to any man who will prove that I ever brought any man's country or religion into question...Here are my colors,' he continued, showing a strip of red, white and blue silk. `These are what I fought under.'[38]

The story went on to say that both Bradley and Rankin displayed respect for each other, that Rankin's injuries were not as severe as first reported, and that after the fight, Rankin was "dead broke," a situation that was remedied by Bradley's sending him twenty-five dollars.[39]

If, however, the Bulletin came around to treating Bradley fairly, it never managed the same treatment for his friends in Philadelphia. They were characterized as Irish "roughs" and vulgar drunkards. In his Reading the Popular, media scholar John Fiske writes about the "struggle for meanings" in popular texts and notes that "...taste is social control and class interest masquerading as a naturally finer sensibility."[40] This, it would seem, is precisely what is going on in the Bulletin's columns. In fact, when the reporter makes a disparaging comment about the amount of liquor consumed at Bradley's victory celebration, his choice of simile may betray the hidden agenda behind his treatment of the Irish crowd. "The amount of stimulants consumed would seem to indicate that to the victor belongs the spoils, not only of his enemies, but also of his friends, as the receipts at the bar came in *as quickly as on an election day*."[41] (Italics are mine.)

The image can not be accidental. Moyamensing was often the scene of election-day violence, and many thought that the availability of liquor played a huge role in causing the violence. Despite the threat of violence, it was not until 1884 that a Philadelphia mayor ordered all saloons closed on election day, and even then the Moyamensing saloons in the Fourth Ward openly served liquor and beer.[42] Prior to the *Bulletin*'s sly allusion to alcohol and election day, the story referred to Bill McMullen, the Irish and Democratic party leader in Moyamensing. The *Bulletin* reporter observed that "Bill McMullen of the Fourth Ward in this city" served as an umpire at the fight, following that by noting that McMullen thought the fight to be one of the fairest he had ever seen.[43] No doubt the newspaper was eager to point out what a candidate for alderman, the chief judicial position in a ward, thought of as a fair fight was an opinion not shared by polite society.

For the Republican *Bulletin*, the connection between McMullen, an illegal and violent athletic contest and Irish drinking habits would be enough to trigger an election-day metaphor. It is clear that the paper viewed the prize fight just as it viewed McMullen's politics and working-class drinking - as threats to the established powers in Philadelphia. Even in dealing with a fight that produced none of the expected religious animosity, the _Bulletin_'s coverage was meant to control behavior that it perceived as both different from and a threat to civil and political society.

MURPHY'S SPEECH IN THE _SUN_

The _Bulletin_'s coverage may indeed be an example of ideological influence exerted by an organ of the dominant group with Queen's _Clipper_ offering an alternative, subcultural reading of the fight. But to stop after having made that point would be to overprivilege the role of the dominant group and the popular communications organs of that group in the cultural struggle. The preceding section of this paper locates all the power in a cultural struggle in the hands of the newspaper reporters, editors and publishers, leading one to conclude that the Philadelphia Irish were repressed, victims of a dominant ideological system that defined them "exclusively in terms of their deviation from the consensus," as Stuart Hall notes in his article, "The rediscovery of 'ideology': return of the repressed in media studies."[44] But Fiske makes this point: "Popular culture is the culture of the subordinate who resent their subordination; it is not concerned with finding consensual meanings or with producing social rituals that harmonize social difference."[45] A close textual analysis of the Sun's coverage of Murphy's speech from the second-floor window, the scene with which I began this paper, helps illustrate Fiske's point. The people in the upper room of Bradley's saloon would readily acknowledge their deviation from the consensus, but that acknowledgment would not remove them from a sense and source of cultural power that Hall refers to as the "power to signify events in a particular way," and that Fiske labels as the subculture's "dogged refusal of the dominant ideology and discipline."[46]

Throughout the Sun's story about Bradley's return to Philadelphia, only Murphy is quoted directly and extensively. Moreover, the story is structured chronologically, the reporter's having chosen to lead with the street scene that is highlighted by Murphy's appearance at the upstairs window and his ensuing speech. An interesting observation about the Sun's coverage of Murphy's speech from the window is that two significations occur: the reporter's, which tries to paint the scene demeaningly; and the waiter's, which springs from a sense of triumph and power. Remember that the reporter remains "on the pavement, not pleasing to go into the den amongst a lot of thieving rascals."[47] From that vantage point, he sees a man he identifies as Murphy, "said to be a waiter in the Girard House." In reality, he seems to imply, he could be anything, even a "thieving rascal." Murphy, by virtue of his surname, is connected with the Irish, and he is also connected with drinking, ("Boys, this is champagne-don't it look nice?"). Murphy is quoted directly and ungrammatically: "...don't it look nice?"; and idiomatically, "Fellers, yer DOMINICK...." Later in the story, in fact, the Sun reporter refers to the language used in Bradley's saloon as alien to him, words that formed "some profane epithet." Stuart M. Blumin, in his The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900, cites James Fenimore Cooper to make the point that class in the antebellum American city increasingly was becoming determined by "no other rules than those of taste, sentiment and the silent laws of usage."[48] In this instance, the reporter's intent is transparent: Murphy's language is meant to suggest the class difference between Murphy and his cohorts and the newspaper's reader. However, Murphy's intent is largely the same, that is, to draw a line of demarcation between the Moyamensing crowd and the rest of the city, especially including Protestants. "Fellers, yer DOMINICK...," Murphy says, as if to deliberately extend the feeling of communal sharing in the triumph from the second-floor room of the saloon to those in the street. Bradley is one of yours, not one of theirs. And he gained a victory, a victory that Murphy intends to spread to the community of Irish Catholics in Moyamensing.

The passage continues to quote Murphy directly, and his concluding clause illustrates a difference in class and values that Murphy plays on to accentuate his and the crowd's feeling of triumph. Murphy says, "...three cheers for the shamrock, and one for the citizens that don't like the fight." Structurally within the clause, the shamrock, emblematic of Ireland, is both celebrated and pitted against "the citizens that don't like the fight." "Citizens" is a particularly interesting word in this context. It operates on at least two levels of meaning, both of which speak directly to the situation of the working-class Irish in Philadelphia.

Citizens, of course, refers to the status of citizenship, a vexed question for Irish immigrants in Philadelphia, the discussion of which I will hold until later. On a less obvious linguistic level, when Murphy uses "citizens" in opposition to "shamrock," he may well be drawing a distinction between those who dwell in the city as opposed to those who come from the country. The Oxford English Dictionary denotes the usage of "citizen" in the antebellum period as referring to "a townsman as opposed to a countryman," and it elaborates on "countryman" as referring to "a rude and untaught person, as opposed to the words `townsman' and `citizen.'"[49] The majority of the Irish immigrants in Northeastern cities were, in fact, rural refugees driven off the land between 1845 and 1855 by the Great Famine. Dennis Clark, in his history of the Irish in Philadelphia, writes, "By the time of the famine, it was hard for anyone to imagine the Irish as urban dwellers, and well-meaning counselors strongly warned emigrants against city life." He describes the Irish in America as escaping to a "way of life completely foreign and completely unfavorable to them." So foreign was the culture of the American city that the Irish remained loyal to "the man and a group, not to a place or a government."[50] This would go a long way towards explaining McMullen's political power in Philadelphia and even Bradley's impact as a cultural hero. Significantly in this vein, Bradley entered the ring against Rankin, as the Clipper noted, "dressed as the model picture of an Irish farmer."[51] The symbolism of Bradley's fighting under red, white and blue colors while entering the ring dressed as an Irish farmer would not have been lost on the Moyamensing crowd.

Nor, it would seem, would the political implication of Murphy's use of "citizens that don't like the fight" have eluded the crowd's notice. Following the consolidation of the city in 1854, Irish immigrants and even Irish-Americans found their citizenship rights difficult to effect. Despite the fact that the Irish were solidly behind the Democratic party and despite the fact that in 1857 Democrats held three-fourths of the 149 seats on the Common Council and the Select Council, the city's legislative bodies, only a small number were Irish, including just eight of eighty five in the Common Council.[52]

The Moyamensing Irish chafed at the growing power of the city police force, which was established in 1850 under the leadership of John Keyser, who established a native-birth requirement for membership on the force; and, led by

McMullen, the Irish characterized Know Nothing party Mayor Robert Conrad's attempt to reorganize and centralize the city's fire departments as a nativist plot to limit the political and social influence of the Irish within their own wards.[53] Throughout the decade of the 1850s, then, the Irish sense of living in a subcommunity that was distinct from the rest of the city increased, Aligned against and in steady conflict with the Irish were groups as varied as the established center-city elite, the new middle class, native Protestant artisans, and native unskilled workers.[54]

Moreover, with the rise to power again in 1853 of the American Nativist political party, or Know-Nothing party as it was commonly referred to, and its labor-movement arm in Philadelphia, the United American Mechanics, the road to naturalization was threatened. The Know Nothing party had three manifest objectives: the disenfranchisement of naturalized citizens, their exclusion from elected or appointed office, and perpetual war on the Catholic religion. In addition, the Know Nothings proposed a twenty-year probationary period preceding naturalization, and Philadelphia was just one year removed from the rule of Know Nothing Mayor Conrad.[55]

In 1857 Pennsylvania was in the throes of the enforcement of strict laws governing licensing of saloons and otherwise restricting public consumption of alcohol. The laws were "particularly aimed at the foreigner who loved his glass at home and wished to continue its use in America," Ellis Oberholtzer writes in his history of Philadelphia.[56] Murphy, of course, made it a point to display his tumbler of champagne to the crowd.

Elliott J. Gorn, in his The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America, argues that, "The flowering of pugilism was a cultural statement opposing the efforts by the middle class to reshape the world in its own image."[57] For the Irish in Philadelphia in 1857, it was that and more. Prize fighting was, like the saloon and the parish church, a bit of both old-country identification in a foreign culture and a way of making a mark in that culture in one of the few avenues available to the Irish. On one level, the level at which most middle-class readers would understand it, the Sun's version of Murphy's speech is meant to vilify him and the fight crowd in Moyamensing. On another level or levels, Murphy's speech reveals the deeper layers of a subcultural ritual. It becomes a matter, as Stuart Hall writes, of asking: Who has the power to define whom?[58] The Sun uses Murphy's speech in order to thrust its definition on Murphy and his crowd. But, ironically, in printing his speech, the newspaper helps empower the Philadelphia Irish to define themselves in terms of their values. It provides them with a public forum to strengthen their sense of community within a hostile city. In fact, even while defiantly encouraging "three cheers for the shamrock," Murphy feels secure and sarcastic enough to offer "one for the citizens that don't like the fight."

Endnotes

1. The Philadelphia Sun, Aug. 4, 1857, p. 4. Hereafter all references will be listed simply as Sun.

A possible explanation of the reporter's decision to remain on the street rather than to do his job and go to the upper room to gather material for his story might be fear. Any reporter's job was not made easy by the physical and social setting of Moyamensing. In Philadelphia Politics from the Bottom Up: The Life of Irishman William McMullen, 1824-1901 Philadelphia: Associated University Presses, 1989), Harry C. Silcox notes that the people of Moyamensing, mostly Irish and blacks, were "alley people" who distrusted outsiders and looked out for their neighbors. Moreover, the physical layout of that part of the city made it difficult for a stranger even to find his way. "The haphazard arrangement of these homes often formed an incomprehensible maze. This provided protection for the occupants, who could retreat to their alley community leaving the outsider afraid to follow." Silcox, p. 30.

2. Nat Fleischer and Sam Andre, A Pictorial History of Boxing (Secaucus, N.J.: Citadel, 1959), p. 40. See also, Elliott J. Gorn, The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1986), especially Chapter 4, "The Meanings of Prize Fighting"; and Gorn, "`Good-Bye Boys, I Die a True American': Homicide, Nativism, and Working-Class Culture in Antebellum New York City," The Journal of American History, 74, No. 2, September, 1987, pp. 388-410.

3. John Fiske, Reading the Popular (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), p. 7. Terry Eagleton in Ideology: An Introduction (London: Verso, 1991) notes that "ideology is a matter of `discourse' rather than `language.' It conerns the actual use of language between particular human subjects for the production of special effects...Ideology is less a matter of the inherent linguistic properties of a pronouncement than a question of who is saying what to whom for what purposes." p. 9. Eagleton, of course, builds on Raymond Williams' seminal work on language and culture, Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society (New York: Oxford UP, 1976).

4. Antonio Gramsci, Prison Notebooks (New York: International Publishers, 1971), p. 12.

5. Donald Paneth, The Encyclopedia of American Journalism (New York: Facts on File Publications, 1983), p. 337. On the Bulletin's opposition to Democratic politicians, see Silcox, pp. 47-48. The New York Clipper, Dec. 31, 1853, p. 3, observes, "The good citizens of the Quaker City are showing their appreciation of our humble effort to make a good paper by running up our circulation in that city to an

astonishing extent." Hereafter references to the Clipper will be listed as NYC.

6. NYC, May 7, 1853, p. 2. In his column in the May 14, 1853 edition of the Clipper, p. 2, Queen elaborated on the theme of appealing to and speaking for the working class: "Our principles...may always be the principles of the people, the hard working mechanic, and the feeble and careworn poor, whose honesty is ever superior to those who are ranked in the higher walks of society...."

7. Gorn, The Manly Art, p. 103 and 273.

8. NYC, Jan. 7, 1854, p. 3; and Nov. 20, 1858, p. 242. The Clipper also argued that pugilism was morally superior and far more sportsmanlike than the rough-and-tumble fighting practiced in the American South. That type of "no holts barred" fighting contributed to prize fighting's poor image. On this point, see Gorn, "`Gouge and Bite, Pull Hair and Scratch': The Social Significance of Fighting in the Southern Backcountry," American Historical Review, 90, February, 1985, pp. 18-43.

9. James Ambrose, an Irish immigrant to New York City in 1841 who fought under the name Yankee Sullivan, is credited with popularizing prize fighting in the United States. The information comes from a pamphlet titled American Fistiana, quoted in part in the New York Herald, Feb. 9, 1849, p. 1.

10. Gorn, The Manly Art, p. 59.

11. Lambert Wilmer, Our Press Gang; or, A Complete Exposition of the Corruptions and Crimes of the American Newspapers (Philadelphia: J.T. Lloyd, 1858), p. 170. Ironically, most of the editors and publishers of New York City newspapers during this period were "foreign" in the sense that they grew up in rural areas as opposed to Queen, who grew up in Philadelphia. On this point, see Meyer Berger, The Story of The New York Times, 1851-1861 (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1951), p. 33. The difference in rural and urban attitudes toward liquor consumption, prize fighting, gambling, and recreation in general was profound in New York state legislature debates over such issues. See Gorn, The Manly Art, p. 104.

12. Gorn, The Manly Art, p. 113-114.

13. Bruce Laurie, "Fire Companies and Gangs in Southwark: The 1840s," in Allen F. Davis and Mark H. Haller, eds. The Peoples of Philadelphia: A History of Ethnic Groups and Lower-Class Life, 1790-1940 (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1973), p. 80; see also Queen's obituary in the New York Clipper, Oct. 28, 1882, p. 521.

14. Quoted in Dennis Clark, *The Irish in Philadelphia: Ten Generations of Urban Experience* (Philadelphia: Temple UP, 1973), p. 20.

15. See Clark, *The Irish in Philadelphia*, p. 20. On this same point, see also, Sam Bass Warner, *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth*, second edition, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987); Laurie, "Fire Companies and Gangs in Southwark: The 1840s," and David R. Johnson, "Crime Patterns in Philadelphia, 1840-1870," both printed in Davis and Haller, 1973; Michael Feldberg, *The Philadelphia Riots of 1844* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1975); and for a contemporary account of lower-class life in Philadelphia, see George G. Foster, "Philadelphia in Slices," first published in the *New York Tribune* in 1848 and 1849 and reprinted in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 93, 1, (January, 1969), pp. 23-72.

16. Source is the *Annual Reports of the Commission of Emigration of the State of New York, from the Organization of the Commission, May 5, 1847, to 1860 Inclusive*, reprinted in Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863* (New York: Columbia UP, 1949), Tables 9 and 10, p. 189.

17. Clark, in *The Irish in Philadelphia*, notes that in 1850 the Irish constituted 28.6 percent, 2,318 of a total population of 8,907 in the Second Ward of Moyamensing (which became the Fourth Ward of Philadelphia after the Act of Consolidation in 1854). In 1851 the *Philadelphia North American* editorialized on the city's good fortune in housing relative to New York City. New York had 515,000 residents and 37,730 houses, while Philadelphia had 490,000 residents and 61,202 houses. However, after 1854, the number of residents would have increased and the percentage of housing per population would have decreased with the annexation of the poorer districts. Moreover, as Clark notes, "The Irish neighborhoods had notorious reputations. The area around Fourth and Plum Streets in Southwark contained a number of bawdy houses and other unsavory haunts. Both Moyamensing and Southwark were seen to be infested with a picaresque population of loafers and low characters." See Clark, Chapter Three, "City Shelter." See also, Silcox, Chapter 1, "Growing Up Among the Urban Poor"; and David Johnson, "Crime Patterns in Philadelphia, 1840-1870."

18. Laurie, p. 74.

19. Warner, p. 95; Clark, pp. 118-119.

20. Warner, p. 96; Silcox, pp. 48-49.

21. Silcox, p. 49.

22. Jerome Mushkat, Fernando Wood: A Political Biography (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State UP, 1990), especially Chapter Five, "The Political Mayor.

23. Mushkat, Chapter Five, "The Political Mayor." For a full discussion of the events of the summer of 1857 in New York, see James F. Richardson, The New York Police: Colonial Times to 1901 (New York: Oxford UP, 1970), especially Chapter 4, "Mayor Fernando Wood and the New York Police," and Chapter 5, "The Early Years of the Metropolitan Police"; Herbert Asbury, The Gangs of New York: An Informal History of the Underworld (New York: Paragon House, 1990), especially Chapter VI, "The Police and the Dead Rabbits Riot"; Joel Tyler Headley, The Great Riots of New York, 1712-1873 (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1970), especially Chapter IX; Edward K. Spann, The New Metropolis: New York City, 1840-1857 (New York: Columbia UP, 1981), especially Chapter 14, "Tyrranny, Tammany, and the State," in which Spann argues that in addition to spawning ethnic hatred, the 1857 riot also led to hatred of the police by members of the lower class.

24. Quoted in Silcox, p. 45. See also, Johnson, pp. 97-99.

25. Johnson, p. 98.

26. Virtually every edition of the Clipper praised the physical and moral value of prize fighting. In particular see, Aug. 20 and 27, 1853, "Art of Attack and Defence," pp. 1 and 3; The editions of July 23 and 30, 1853 included a two-part series on training for the ring which urged fighters to engage in clean and healthy living to the extent that they avoid "a debauch of spirituous liquors...and the sexual intercourse."

27. The Clipper referred to the great interest in both New York and Philadelphia in learning the result of the fight. "The various newspaper offices in (Philadelphia) were thronged with those in `pursuit of knolwedge under difficulties,' but nothing reliable was received until Monday morning." The Clipper patted itself on the back by noting that the first news of the fight came from its reporter. "...(A)s soon as we received a dispatch from our reporter the result was posted on a bullitin (sic) at the entrance to our office, where it was perused by thousands, and the news soon flew through the city, and was in a short time telegraphed all over the country." NYC, August 8, 1857, p. 127.

28. Gorn, The Manly Art, p. 114.

29. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, Aug. 3, 1857, p. 4. Hereafter all references to the Bulletin will be listed as PEB.

30. Buffalo Commercial Advertiser, Aug. 1, 1857, p. 3.

31. PEB, Aug. 3, 1857, p. 4.

32. PEB, Aug. 3, 1857, p. 4.

33. PEB, Aug. 3, 1857, p. 4.

34. PEB, Aug. 3, 1857, p. 4.

35. NYC, Aug. 15, 1857, p. 130.

36. NYC, Aug. 15, 1857, p. 130.

37. The Clipper's coverage was longer and more detailed than the Bulletin's. In several instances, the Clipper contained information about the details of the fight that contradicted reports in the Bulletin and other papers. NYC, Aug. 8, 1857, p. 126.

38. PEB, Aug. 4, 1857, p. 4.

39. PEB, Aug. 4, 1857, p. 4.

40. Fiske, Reading the Popular, p. 6.

41. PEB, Aug. 3, 1857, p. 4.

42. Silcox, p. 34.

43. PEB, Aug. 3, 1857, p. 4.

44. Stuart Hall, "The Rediscovery of `Ideology': return of the repressed in media studies," in Gurevitch, M.T. Bennett, J. Curran and J. Woolacott, Culture, Society and the Media (London: Metheun, 1982), p. 62.

45. Fiske, p. 7.

46. Hall, p. 69 and Fiske, p. 8.

47. This and subsequent quotations from Murphy's speech are taken from the Sun, Aug. 4, 1857, p. 4.

48. Stuart M. Blumin, The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989), p. 241. See also, James W. Carey, "A Cultural Approach to Communication," in Carey, Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), p. 31. Carey writes of

newspapers as inventions of the middle class, and he notes that newspapers presented models "for the appropriate use f language, the permissible forms of human contact, the ends communication should serve."

49. J. A. Simpson and E.S.C. Weiner, *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed. Vol. III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 250.

50. Clark, p. 26 and 28; Clark writes, "One of the most important features of the social background of the emigrating Irish was its singularly rural character"; see also, Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodous to North America* (New York: Oxford UP, 1985), especially Chapter 7, "'Revenge for the Skibbereen': The Great Famine and Irish Emigration, 1845-1855."

51. *NYC*, Aug. 8, 1857, p. 126.

52. See Clark, p. 119; see also, Warner, Table XIII, p. 154, which lists voting totals for the 1854-56-58 mayoral elections.

53. Silxox, pp. 44-48.

54. Warner, p. 94.

55. Clark, pp. 20-22. See also, Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1963), p. 327.

56. Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *Philadelphia: A History of the City and its People*, Vol. II (Philadelphia: S.J. Clarke, 1921), p. 293.

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58. Hall, p. 63.

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PHILIPPA DUKE SCHUYLER:
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Among the maze of corridors that make up the Pentagon, the walls of a small alcove bear inscriptions of the names of all Americans killed in Vietnam. One inscription reads: "Philippa Duke Schuyler - May 9, 1967." (1)

Journalism history has no such alcove, but if it did, it would probably fail, as do its chronicles, to include Schuyler. She was the first African American woman journalist to report on the war in Vietnam. (2) As a foreign correspondent for a half dozen news organizations including the Manchester Union Leader and United Press, Schuyler was an African American voice during the middle of this century. Through her journalistic skills and activism, Schuyler supported conservative political ideology and the international crusade for human rights. She is also an example of the many African Americans who felt compelled to live abroad to gain appreciation and recognition for their work.

While journalism history overlooks Schuyler, (3) American history does not exclude her completely. Schuyler, an accomplished classical composer and pianist, journalist, linguist, and author was the subject of many newspaper articles from age two until her death. Born in New York City's Harlem, Schuyler was a child of superior intellect. When she was nine, The New York City Clinic for Gifted Children rated Schuyler at sixteen mental years. New York University rated her I.Q. at 188, and Fordham University rated it at 185. Both schools rated 140 I. Q. as that of a genius. (4)

The Schuyler family was more affluent than most in the Harlem community. Her father, George S. Schuyler, was editor of the Pittsburgh Courier and a syndicated columnist who wrote several books. Her mother, Josephine Cogdell Schuyler, was a painter and writer. The Schuylers knew and worked with leaders of the Harlem Renaissance period, and they hosted local and world leaders in the arts, politics, and government. (5)

Philippa's fame was so great that her fifth birthday present-- a grand piano -- and her worldwide classical piano tours were reported in the news media around the world. (6) In 1940, Time heralded her as the brightest young composer in the United States. (7) She was an active composer and performer and wrote 100 pieces for piano by age eleven. At fourteen, she won both first and second prize in a national competition held by the Grinnell Foundation of Detroit, and her prize-winning work was performed by the Detroit Symphony Orchestra. In 1950 she made her premier international performance in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. Schuyler rediscovered her childhood love for writing while in Haiti and began her journalism career with a five-part series for the Pittsburgh Courier. (8)

She found also she had a talent for encouraging others to relate their stories to her. In 1960, Schuyler wrote in the author's preface to her autobiography: "Wherever I traveled, people confided in me, as if they were still puzzled themselves by what had happened. I listened eagerly, often shocked but fascinated. This was my college education! It all helped me form a more accurate picture of life." (9)

Schuyler made two trips to Vietnam as a correspondent. After completing the second, Schuyler delayed her scheduled departure to the United States. On May 9, 1967, she died a hero while rescuing Vietnamese orphans. She died in a helicopter which exploded in midair and crashed into Da Nang Bay. American and international dailies announced her death on their front pages, but journalism history reference sources ignore her. (10)

The story of Philippa Duke Schuyler's 36 years deserves a place in journalism history. She covered the world for the Manchester Union Leader, United Press, Spaeda Syndicate, The New York Daily Mirror, Triumph magazine, and the National Catholic Press. This paper, based largely on Schuyler's newspaper articles and her five books -- Adventures in Black and White, Who Killed the Congo?, Jungle Saints: Africa's Heroic Catholic Missionaries, Kingdom of Dreams, and Good Men Die -- tells her story. An examination of Schuyler's life and work, offered here, reveals her commitment to two principles: conservatism and human rights. This investigation also explores Schuyler's life as an expatriate accepted and recognized professionally more by Europeans than Americans, both Black and white. First, Schuyler used the journalistic arena to influence public opinion on international foreign policy regarding the independence of several African countries from the European nations which colonized them and continued to govern them from abroad. In addition, through her reporting and activism, Schuyler sought to influence public opinion on American policy on the war in Vietnam.

An in-depth examination of her life reveals a point at which Schuyler chose to risk her life to expose, through her writing, the plight of the disenfranchised of Haiti, the Congo, Kenya, and Vietnam. Human rights and the neglect of children became the subject of much of her writing. She further used her journalistic talent to expose the violation of human rights and the ravages of the United Nations occupation of the Congo. Finally, Schuyler exploited her skin color and fluency in four languages to travel and report freely throughout the world as a European. Like many African Americans of her time and before her, she was able to gain acceptance on the basis of her talent and intellect as long as her race was not known.

BIOGRAPHICAL HIGHLIGHTS

Philippa Duke Schuyler was born August 2, 1931, the only child of George Schuyler, New York editor of the Pittsburgh Courier and conservative syndicated columnist, and Josephine Cogdell Schuyler, a white ranching and banking heiress from Texas. The Schuylers were staunch believers that individuals control the destiny of their lives. They believed in their convictions to the extent that they set out to create a gifted child. They observed a specified period of sexual abstinence before attempting conception and followed a strict program of special diet for Josephine Schuyler prior to and during her pregnancy. (11)

Although born in New York City's Harlem in the depths of the Depression, Philippa Duke Schuyler was the bounty of her parents' philosophy. Schuyler learned to spell as a toddler, and, at the age of two and one-half, she could read and write. She began to study the piano when she was three years old and began what would turn out to be a lifetime of formal piano performances and training at the age of six.

One of her editors wrote: She won her first gold medal in the National Piano Guild competition at the age of four by playing ten pieces from memory, seven of which she had personally composed. For the next eight years she won the highest honors offered by the National Piano Teachers Guild. Finally they asked her not to compete again, so as not to discourage the others.(12) Schuyler began her college studies at Manhattanville College at the age of fifteen.

She performed in seventy-eight countries during her career as a classical pianist and composer, including performances with world-renown symphony orchestras and conductors. At fourteen, she performed with the New York Philharmonic. Memorabilia from these programs picture Schuyler and are written in the languages of the many countries she visited. (13)

In 1950, at the age of 19, Schuyler gave the premier performance of one of her 100 original compositions for orchestra. This performance was also her first appearance outside of the United States and marked the beginning of her career as a foreign correspondent. She wrote a five-part series about the president of Haiti for the Pittsburgh Courier. (14)

Schuyler was not satisfied with a career as a classical pianist. Her musical career was not enough for her. Her travels exposed her to the hardships endured by those who were victims of poverty and racism, and she felt compelled to use her journalistic abilities to expose these inequities. Between 1955 and 1961, Schuyler traveled extensively throughout Africa, visiting twenty-four countries as a journalist and pianist. In 1960 she filed stories as a foreign correspondent for United Press, Spadea Syndicate, The New York Daily Mirror and Manchester Union Leader. She noted these stories were published in more than two hundred newspapers between 1960 and 1961. (15) In March 1962 she wrote two hard-hitting articles about the United Nations' "barbarous" occupation in Katanga and the beauty and cruelty of life in pre-independent Kenya for the Manchester Union Leader. (16)

In 1966 Schuyler traveled to Vietnam to cover the war for the Union Leader, the National Catholic Press and Triumph magazine. She documented the battles, skirmishes, and effects of American foreign policy, but the personal Schuyler was caught up in the plight of the South Vietnamese children. She committed her resources to helping Vietnamese orphans escape the ravages of war.

In May 1967, after completing a second tour of duty as a war correspondent, Schyuler delayed departure to the United States in order to help rescue Vietnamese children living in an orphanage that had come under fire in Hue. She arranged to enroll the children in a school near Da Nang. But on May 9, 1967, as she was transporting the last nine children to a safe haven, her helicopter exploded in midair and crashed into Da Nang Bay. Schuyler and one of the children were killed. The cause of the helicopter crash was never discovered. (17)

All traffic was stopped on Fifth Avenue on May 18, 1967 to accommodate the 2,000 mourners inside St. Patrick's Cathedral and the hundreds who lined the streets outside to say goodbye to Philippa Duke Schuyler. A pontifical High Mass was conducted by the late Francis Cardinal Spellman following the pomp and circumstance of a stately cortege, a military honor guard and tributes from arts leaders, journalists and mayors.

Philippa Duke Schyuler did not marry and had no children. Josephine Cogdell Schyuler was unable to overcome the loss of her only child and hanged herself in their New York apartment on May 2, 1969. George Schyuler died of natural causes on August 31, 1977. (18)

PHILIPPA SCHUYLER AND THE CONSERVATIVE IDEOLOGY

Schuyler's childhood experiences had a profound effect on her ideology. She was the daughter of one of the most renown Black conservatives in this country's history. George Schuyler began his writing career as a Socialist and helped A. Phillip Randolph, the Black labor leader, found Messenger Magazine in 1926, (19) but he soon evolved into a political conservative. George Schuyler is most well known for his biting political satire. He wrote attacks on

Marcus Garvey's back to Africa movement and later cutting satire about Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and other civil rights leaders. (20) There is no doubt, Philippa Schuyler read and understood her father's writings.

The period that is most widely known as the modern Civil Rights Era in the United States is the period during which many Black Americans adopted a solidarity with the people of African nations seeking independence from colonial rule. While hundreds of thousands of African Americans were fighting for civil and voting rights in the United States in the early 1960s, Schuyler was reporting from twenty-three African countries, including Kenya, Egypt, the Sudan, the Belgian Congo, Morocco, Ghana, the Rhodesias, Nigeria, Uganda, and Ethiopia. Her reports took the view that African colonies demanding independence were not ready to govern themselves.

She reported from Kenya in 1962 during a period in which the British government was weighing the merits of independence for the colony. Schuyler reported the future of Kenya as "terrifying." She described a Kenya that was environmentally beautiful but a land where the people were cruel to humankind, where the cities were full of crime, where there was disaster from floods which followed drought, where there was economic uncertainty, and where there was terrorism from the Mau-Mau, the terrorist arm of the Kikuyu, the majority tribe which will rule the new nation.

Schuyler told readers of the Union Leader: "The mad gaiety which some upper circles now display, the sullen waiting Mau-Mau terrorists, the vice and crime on every hand, are all symptoms of the break up of colonialism. The future of Kenya is terrifying.

"Sensitivity and imagination seem lacking. Brutality to women and children is commonplace. Five thousand children live homeless in the streets of Nairobi. For even in Nairobi, where quasi-Europeanized Kikuyu reside, there is a frightful social cruelty to the weak and defenseless." (21)

Perhaps most controversial were her reports from Kenya in which she outwardly questioned the wisdom of the British government in granting Kenyan independence. (22) These reports reveal a conservative political ideology that made her popular with Union-Leader publisher William Loeb. Loeb was well-known for his conservatism and front page editorials which blatantly served his political beliefs. He was labeled a "social issue conservative" because of his positions on matters such as race, protest activity and abortion. (23) One might say Loeb carried on a journalistic love affair with Schuyler. Schuyler's articles were always introduced or accompanied by a Loeb front page editorial which bluntly pointed to the fact that Schuyler was a "Negro" and could not be accused of racism for her conservative views against independence in Africa and decried the weakness of the liberal press for refusing to report "the white man's flight from responsibility in Africa." (24)

In an introduction to one of her articles, he wrote: " The white man has tried to disguise his abandonment of Africa by saying he is giving the natives freedom, a freedom that only a few agitators want and that will mean misery for untold millions of savage Africans, untrained and unequipped for dealing with freedom in the 20th Century." (25)

Schuyler joined her father in championing the presence of United States troops in Vietnam and reported that the Southeast Asians wanted an escalation of US bombing in order to bring a swift end to the war. Schuyler's writing exhibited the jargon attributed to conservatives of that time.

She wrote: "Our soldiers are giving their bodies and blood and lives to fight the Communists while our leaders aid the Reds. Viet Nam is now a mess. And it is the American left that has ruined Viet Nam." (26)

The October 21, 1966 front-page headline of the Union Leader ran the first of a seven-part series of articles by Schuyler in which she reported the anger and resentment of the South Vietnamese people. She described them as sick of the war and resentful of the misguided American government policies which caused it. (27)

Also, she indicated strongly her status as a hawk. She wrote: "They feel the Red aggression should be stemmed at its source. It is the betrayal by the enemy within that makes the whole cause so difficult. If our strategy would be go-ahead-and-win strategy, the enemy in Viet Nam would be a pushover for our might. (28)

Schuyler wrote hard-hitting language, condemning American liberals whom she considered misguided in their policy toward the North Vietnamese: "While the Treasury Department approves the request of a Yale student group to send medical supplies to Communist North Viet Nam; while the American Friends Service Committee is granted license to send supplies to war victims in all of Viet Nam including the North and Viet Cong areas; while our Commerce Secretary O'Connor announces the removal of restrictions on our selling iron ore, rubber, petroleum gas, alcohol and machinery to the Communist bloc - our boys are suffering pain and hurt from the Reds." (29)

Speaking of interviews with Korean soldiers in Vietnam: "Strengthened by memories of combat against the Reds in the Korean War, there are no 'peaceniks' among them. They know the issues are clear and simple, painted in primary colors. It is freedom versus Red slavery, truth against lies. These are colored men, fighting of their own volition to help other colored men rid their country of a Communist terror." (30)

PROMOTING HUMAN RIGHTS

As a child, Schuyler showed a penchant for asking the tough questions about life's inequities. She questioned her parents about the poor and whether or not their deprivation was a result of their behavior. Her parents responded that some people lacked food and clothing because they were not as lucky as others. It is apparent that Schuyler brought this concern for the less fortunate into her journalism career and activism. (31)

Schuyler's journalistic style was not typical of that of a foreign correspondent who covered US foreign policy around the world. Although she reported these matters, she approached her early stories as a feature writer, relating the lives of the people of the countries she visited as well as documenting US involvement. Her early career as a journalist evolved from her first career as a concert pianist and composer. Initially, her travels resulted from her international performances, but her superior intellect prevented her from ignoring the events and situations that surrounded her. She found herself surrounded by coupes, dictatorships, the effects of famine and floods, child prostitution, homelessness, wars and the ravages of wars. She wrote passionately about it all.

While the classical artist turned journalist lived a life perhaps envied by most African Americans, her observations during her global travel soon became the subject of her professional writing. As she began to chronicle her travels, the sensitive young Schuyler could not ignore the plight of those who suffered racism, poverty and illness because of "policies" well beyond their control. Schuyler's life-long interest in human rights began in Harlem where she regularly volunteered for anti-poverty agencies which assisted the children of the community. (32) While there is no doubt she was politically conservative, she was socially liberal.

She did not simply report events in the countries she visited. She dressed in native garb and searched out the natives in the cities and countryside where she could observe their lives and their cultures. Despite Schuyler's privileged life, she was acutely aware of and concerned for the pain and suffering of others. Her writing style allowed her to reveal the people behind the events she reported. Her reports are replete with descriptions of the brutality suffered by young children and women as a result of the policies and conflicts of the governments of their nations.

Her reporting on the impending independence of Kenya, while conservative in political ideology, described what she saw as callous indifference to the social injustices. She described the "country girls" sent to stay with relatives in Nairobi who were subsequently beaten and raped by relatives and soon deserted and left to turn to lives of prostitution. (33)

Her crusade for human rights in Vietnam included articles that, while supporting US troops, asked why the United States government would not escalate the war, virtually obliterate North Vietnam, and leave the people of South Vietnam free to begin life again. She advocated escalation of the war to bring it to an end and thereby end the suffering of the South Vietnamese people. Schuyler felt the United States policy of gradualism in the war was stripping the country of a chance to rebound and felt the policy would never win the war. Meanwhile, as a correspondent, Schuyler chose to risk her life to escape the limits prescribed for reporters and venture into the jungles of Vietnam to discover the war's effects on the people.

Schuyler reported the suffering of the people who were living a lifetime of war in their country and took an activist role in attempting to improve the lives of the children. She enlisted the help of anyone willing to listen to help her gain transport for scores of orphans created by the war. She worked tirelessly and loss her life taking these children from areas that were under fire during combat. Schuyler hoped to take the children to areas where they might find help and love and live through the ravages of war.

In the early 1960s she wrote passionately about the 18-month United Nations occupation in Katanga as "a ghastly saga of rape, pillage, atrocity, confusion, treaty violation and apparent contempt for the entire international code of military ethics."(34) While her articles revealed the cruelties endured by many, her reporting included appeals to wealthy nations like the United States to give freely of their wealth to people of nations who were suffering because of their circumstances. Her Kenyan article, which described the human rights horrors she felt were a result of premature independence, described a new modern hospital in Nairobi which could not open because of shortages of medical supplies and bedding.

She wrote: "The funds to open it must come from private contributions. However, the Africans are too poor to help, the businessmen are too harried by financial troubles of their own, so it is hoped that some kindhearted donors in countries like America will help this worthy project." (35) She closes by giving instructions and an address for sending medicines, antibiotics, bedding, towels and donations of money, "no matter how small."

Schuyler's commitment to the principles of international human rights probably can be attributed, in part, to her devotion to Catholicism as well as her exposure through world travel. Schuyler was educated by the nuns of the Catholic Church. These nuns were instrumental in assisting Schuyler's parents with finding a musical outlet for the child prodigy. They convinced the Schuylers that the youngster needed an outlet other than the reading and writing that encompassed her life at age three. At age five, she entered a class in music at Pope Pius School of Liturgical Music. She also completed the eight years of grammar school in three years finishing at the top of her class. The nuns suggested she accept second place at graduation for psychological reasons. (36)

This exposure developed two Schuylers, one who was privileged and indulged and another who was acutely perceptive of the suffering and pain of others. This latter perception proved a gift when Schuyler began her carer as a journalist. There is no doubt Schuyler was greatly influenced by the work of her friend, Francis Cardinal Spellman. Spellman was famous for his charitable work and his ability to raise funds for this work. A devout Catholic, Schuyler sought the help of the priests and nuns who were missionaries in the countries she visited. Her journalistic writings as well as her many books include interviews with countless missionaries. She used her articles and journalistic style to crusade for human rights.

SCHUYLER THE EXPATRIATE

Schuyler was the child of an African American father and white mother. Photographs of her reveal a young woman with exotic and foreign characteristics. Although obviously a person of color, she was described as olive colored, a color that appeared more European than African American. Also a young woman who possessed abnormally high intellect, Schuyler spoke French, Italian, Portuguese, Arabic, Spanish, Swahili and several African dialects fluently. (37)

Schuyler traveled to every state in the United States and seventy-eight countries during her lifetime with little or no hindrance because of her race. No mention is made in her autobiography (38) of difficulties with accommodations for living or travel during a time when most African Americans experienced racial discrimination. On the occasion of Philippa's fifteenth birthday, her mother told a reporter Jim Crow had not touched Philippa. She said Philippa understood racial discrimination and how minority groups had been treated during different periods of history. She felt Philippa understood racial discrimination intellectually but had not felt it emotionally. (39)

During many of her trips, Schuyler was the guest of the leaders of the nations she visited. A biographer wrote: "During her years in Africa, touring and writing about the political situation, Philippa passed as a non-black and frequently played for all white audiences in segregated Johannesburg, South Africa." (40)

In 1963 Schuyler wrote to her mother, "Africans consider me a European and Europeans do too ... and that's the way I want it." (41) Schuyler sought to maintain her freedom to travel and cover the world and put aside her racial attitudes and feelings of concern about her heritage.

Schuyler reported where she wanted and on what she wanted without relative difficulty. When she wanted to be European and report on the European matters of African policies, she was European. When she wanted to don native garb to mask her presence from American officials in Vietnam and report the conditions of the South Vietnamese people, she was Asian. When she wanted to perform and receive adulation and appreciation for her musical genius, she could be non-Black amidst the apartheid of South Africa's Johannesburg. She wrote there were several ways to visit Vietnam. She described one as the method used by most journalists. The journalists centered their activities around Saigon and took an occasional foray into with countryside well-chaperoned by military or civilian "observers." She boasted she had her own way of getting around Vietnam, wearing Vietnamese costume, staying in dozens of homes, and rarely staying more than one night in each place. (42) She got her stories.

Schuyler spent a full seventeen years abroad, in the Far East, Africa, Europe and South America, returning to the United States for only brief periods for rest and performances. It is not surprising to find that Schuyler preferred her life abroad where she was neither Black nor white, where indeed the color of her skin was not an issue.

Her most productive years as a journalist and writer, 1950 through 1967, were among the most turbulent for African Americans in the United States, regardless of economic status. These years saw the violence resulting from the violations of the civil rights of African Americans. During this period, before and after, many talented African Americans spent extended periods abroad so that they could work and study. Paul Robeson, James Baldwin, and Richard Wright are just a few.

Research shows that these artists and intellectuals were not particularly happy with their expatriate status and many suffered the psychological ramifications of being away from "home." But, "home" was not an absolute either because indeed "home" was a place across the water to which they also did not belong.

All who knew Schuyler intimately, and subsequently, wrote about her sound a similar theme. She was a woman who possessed high intellect, many talents and contradicting views. Despite her conservative political views, she felt passion for the poor and oppressed. She felt her intellectual abilities and mixed cultural heritage made her an oddity and yet she appreciated both for the advantages they produced. It appears Schuyler suffered greatly from this phenomenon. She wrote in a letter to her mother, "I'm half-colored -- so I'm not accepted anywhere. I'm always destined to be an outsider, never, never part of anything." (43)

CONCLUSION

To characterize the short life of Philippa Duke Schuyler, one can enumerate her many accomplishments. She was an unrelenting journalist who was the first woman of her race killed in action while reporting an American war. Through her journalistic writing and activism, Schuyler crusaded for international human rights abroad. Illumination of Schuyler's work and experiences enrich American history and the history of African American political ideology.

Schuyler's life and work may also assist scholars in an important evolving area of research. Approximately 1,000 scholars met in Paris, France in February 1992 at an academic symposium to discuss the contributions of expatriate African American artists to the European culture. Scholars from over twenty countries gathered for the academic debate at the Sorbonne Novelle. (44) As early as 1858, Daniel Payne studied French at the Sorbonne; Carter G. Woodson did graduate studies in Europe in 1907; Mercer Cook trained there as a teacher of French in 1925; Gwendolyn Brooks and John F. Matheus took courses in the 1920s, and Countee Cullen spent several summers in Paris in the 1930s. Alain Locke was the first African American Rhodes scholar in England. (45) Philippa Duke Schuyler practiced on the piano in the living quarters of Napoleon and his Josephine in the Palais du Luxembourg in December 1955. At that time, the living quarters were occupied by the Black president of the Senate and his pianist wife, Mme. Gaston Monnerville.

Schuyler joins the ranks of many African American journalists who dedicated their careers to human rights reporting. W. E. B. Du Bois, Ida B. Wells-Barnett and William Monroe Trotter are among those most well known for championing the cause of human rights of African Americans. Du Bois, editor and publisher of The Crisis, challenged America to end racial segregation, granting Black Americans greater access to American institutions. (46) As early as 1892, Wells-Barnett, part owner of the Memphis Free Speech and Headlight, crusaded for an end to lynching of African Americans. (47) Trotter was the provocative co-founder of the Boston Guardian which he used to plead the cause of equal rights for Black Americans. (48) These African Americans dedicated their journalistic talents to the crusade for human rights in the United States. Schuyler's work was an expansion of their efforts, focusing the attention of American readers on international human rights.

Illumination of Schuyler's work and life may be particularly relevant to material on the Black conservative ideology during the 1950s and 1960s which generally are known for Black political liberalism. Conventional wisdom has long held that African Americans hold liberal political ideologies. Scholarly research indicates this stereotype is incorrect. While liberalism has been the dominant political ideology of African American thought for most of the twentieth century, African American intellectuals have never been a politically monolithic group and conservative political intellectuals such as Supreme Court Justice Clarence

Thomas are not an anomaly.

Indeed, historically, Booker T. Washington laid the foundation of African American conservatism as early as the late nineteenth century and held political ideologies that fit well within the political right. The post-modern Civil Rights Era has brought with it an increased awareness of Black conservatism. Today, free-market economist Thomas Sowell, Harvard University's Glynn C. Loury, and Walter Williams of George Mason University (49) seek to decrease the emphasis on government reform and intervention as a remedy for the economic and social ills of minorities and increase emphasis on the "self-help" concepts espoused by Booker T. Washington and George S. Schuyler. While Philippa Schuyler was undoubtedly a crusader for human rights, she also held a conservative view on US foreign policy and the affairs of colonization of Africa.

Illumination of the experiences of Philippa Duke Schuyler as an African American woman journalist provides a chapter to be added to American history. It is likely there are other journalists of her race and gender whose careers have contributed significantly to the development of international human rights, political ideology and European culture.

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1 The United States Department of Defense, The Pentagon, Washington, DC.

2 Emery and Emery erroneously cite Ethel Payne as the "only black newswoman to cover the Vietnam war." Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media, Fifth Ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1984) Payne was the second African American woman to report on Vietnam beginning in December 1966. See Rodger Streitmatter, "Ethel L. Payne: An African American Woman Journalist with No Taste for Fluff," Journalism Quarterly, Vol. 68, Number 3 (Autumn 1991) p.528.

3 Schuyler is not mentioned in the standard journalism history textbooks, Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media, Fifth Ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1984) or Jean Folkerts and Dwight Teeter, Voices of a Nation: A History of the Media in the United States (New York: MacMillan, 1989) Schuyler is also omitted from the history of women journalists, Marion Marzolf, Up From the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists (New York: Hastings House, 1977).

4 "Original Girl," Time, 25 March 1946.

5 See The New York Times, 11 May 1967, p. 1, 15. George S. Schuyler, Black and Conservative: The Autobiography of George S. Schuyler (New York: Arlington House, 1966) p. 251-253.

6 New York Herald Tribune, 30 July 1936;New Hampshire Sunday News, 11 August 1946; New York Times, 14 July 1946; New York Post, 6 July 1946; Time, 25 March 1946; New Hampshire Sunday News, 15 October 1944; New York Herald Tribune, 2 August 1944; Coronet Magazine, December 1943; Contemporary Authors, Vol 5-8, p. 1022; Time, 1 July 1940, p. 48; Time, 25 March 1946, p.62; The New York Times, 15 July 1946. See for example, Jet. Vol 66, p 23, 6 August 1984; National Review, Vol 19, p 559, 30 May 1967; American Record Guide, Vol 32, p 726, April 1966; New York Times, "Music : Maturing Artist," Honolulu Star Bulletin, 16 December 1958; South China Morning Post, Hong Kong, 6 January 1959; Hongkong Tiger Standard, 6 January 1959; PTA Magazine, December 1967; Singapore Tiger Standard, 11 January 1959; Buffalo Evening News, 3 November 1958 El Caribe, Dominican Republic, 6 December 1958;;Musical American, June 1953, p.24; Musical Courier, January 1956, p. 2; [London] Musical Opinion, February 1957, p. 263

7 See Time, 1 July 1940, p. 48.

8 Philippa Schuyler, "President Tells Plans for Haiti," "All Haiti Attended Inaugural," Pittsburgh Courier, 30 December 1950, p.12; and "First Lady of Haiti Is Charming and Attractive," 23 December 1950, p.1.

9 See Philippa Schuyler, Adventures in Black and White (New York: Robert Speller & Sons, 1960) p.xii.

10 Schuyler was the second American woman correspondent killed in action. Dickey Chapelle was the first American woman journalist killed in action. She died in 1965 when she stepped on a land mine while covering combat in Vietnam. She was the tenth of forty-five American news correspondents killed in Vietnam. See Julia Edwards, Women of the World: The Great Foreign Correspondents (New York: Ivy Books, 1988), p.

11 See Kathryn Talalay, "Philippa Duke Schuyler, Pianist/Composer/Writer," The Black Perspective in Music, Vol. 10, Number 1, (Spring 1982), p. 43.

12 See Philippa Schuyler, Good Men Die, foreword by Daniel Lyons, S. J. (New York: Twin Circle Publishing, 1969) p. 3.

13 Memorabilia from the career of Philippa Duke Schuyler is located at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York, New York.

14 Philippa Schuyler, "President Tells Plans for Haiti," "All Haiti Attended Inaugural," Pittsburgh Courier, 30 December 1950, p.12; and "First Lady of Haiti Is Charming and Attractive," 23 December 1950, p.1.

15 Philippa Schuyler, Who Killed the Congo? (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1962) p. 1.

16 Philippa Schuyler, "Kenya Faces Freedom Soon," Manchester Union Leader, 7 March 1962, p.31.

17 "Philippa Schuyler, Pianist Dies in Crash of a Copter in Vietnam," The New York Times, 10 May 1967, p. 1, 15.

18 Obituary, The New York Times, 7 September 1977; and The Washington Post, 9 September 1977.

19 Messenger Magazine prided itself on being "the only Radical Negro Magazine in America" and militantly espoused a socialistic doctrine. See Cruse, Harold, Crisis of the Negro Intellectual (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1967) p.40.

20 See Contemporary Authors, Vol. 81-84, p. 499.

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21 Philippa Schuyler, "Kenya Faces Freedom Soon," Manchester Union Leader, 7 March 1962, p.31.

22 Ibid

23 Richard M. Scammon and Ben J. Wattenberg, The Real Majority (New York: Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, 1971).

24 William Loeb, "Editorial," Manchester Union Leader, 7 March 1962, p.1.

25 Ibid.

26 Philippa Schuyler, "What's Wrong in Viet Nam?" Manchester Union Leader, 21 October 1966, p. 30.

27 Ibid.

28 Philippa Schuyler, "The Marines' Civic Action," Manchester Union Leader, 24 October 1966, p.22.

29 Philippa Schuyler, "The Viet Cong Casualties," Manchester Union Leader, 22 October 1966, p.20.

30 Philippa Schuyler, "Ray of Hope: Koreans," Manchester Union Leader, 26 October 1966, p. 26.

31 See Philippa Schuyler, Good Men Die, foreword by Daniel Lyons, S. J. (New York: Twin Circle Publishing, 1969) p. 4 and 6. Also see Charles W. Ferguson, "Americans Not Everyone Knows: Philippa Duke Schuyler," PTA Magazine, December 1967, p. 12.

32 See Philippa Schuyler, Good Men Die, foreword by Daniel Lyons, S. J. (New York: Twin Circle Publishing, 1969) p. 6.

33 Philippa Schuyler, "Kenya Faces Freedom Soon," Manchester Union Leader, 7 March 1962, p.31.

34 Philippa Schuyler, "The UN's Barbarous Record," Manchester Union Leader, 5 March 1962, p. 18.

35 Philippa Schuyler, "Kenya Faces Freedom Soon," Manchester Union Leader, 7 March 1962, p.31.

36 See George S. Schuyler, Black and Conservative: The Autobiography of George S. Schuyler (New York: Arlington House, 1966) p. 251-253.

37 See Philippa Schuyler, Good Men Die, foreword by Daniel Lyons, S. J. (New York: Twin Circle Publishing, 1969) p. 5. See also George S. Schuyler, Black and Conservative: The Autobiography of George S. Schuyler (New York: Arlington House, 1966) p. 252.

38 See Philippa Schuyler, Adventures in Black and White (New York: Robert Speller & Sons, 1960).

39 See "Philippa's First Date," New Hampshire Sunday News, 11 August 1946.

40 See Kathryn Talalay, "Philippa Duke Schuyler, Pianist/Composer/Writer," The Black Perspective in Music, Vol. 10, Number 1, (Spring 1982), p. 57.

41 Personal correspondence of Philippa Duke Schuyler is located at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York, New York.

42 See Philippa Schuyler, Good Men Die (New York: Twin Circle Publishing, 1969) p. 219.

43 Personal correspondence of Philippa Duke Schuyler is located at the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York, New York.

44 Author's interview with symposium participant, Esme E. Bahn, Howard University

45 Daniel A. Payne was an historian, educator and African Methodist Episcopal Church bishop. Carter C. Woodson was an historian who used successfully scholarship to refute myths and racist views about African Americans. He founded the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History. Mercer Cook was an educator and government official. Gwendolyn Brooks was a poet and educator. John F. Matheus was a Harlem Renaissance playwright and educator. Countee Cullen was an editor and perhaps the best known Harlem Renaissance poet. Alain Locke was an educator. See Low, W. A. and Clift, Virgil A., eds. Encyclopedia of Black America (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981)

46 Edwin Emery and Michael Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media, Fifth Ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1984) p.309.

47 Ibid, p. 307.

48 Ibid, p. 308.

49 See W. Avon Drake, "Black Liberalism, Conservatism and Social Democracy: The Social Policy Debate," The Western Journal of Black Studies, Vol. 14, Number 2, 1990, p. 115.

"BUT WHO GOT THE MONEY?"

SOME ANSWERS TO THE PANAMA LIBEL QUESTION

By ROBERT L. SPELLMAN

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Allegations erupted during the 1908 presidential campaign that members of the families of President Theodore Roosevelt and William Howard Taft, the Republican candidate, corruptly profited from the decision of the United States to build the Panama Canal. The New York *World* published charges that an American syndicate had reaped huge profits when the United States purchased for $40 million the properties of the French companies that started construction of the canal. Named as members of the alleged syndicate were Douglas Robinson, brother-in-law of Roosevelt, and Charles P. Taft, publisher of the *Cincinnati Times-Star* and half brother of the presidential candidate. Ultimately the *World* admitted that the allegations against Robinson and Charles P. Taft were false.[1] The newspaper did not concede that the charge that a syndicate existed was false, but the evidence supports a conclusion that one did not exist. There is no evidence of any corruption in the purchase of the French assets.

The allegations enraged Roosevelt. Not only did the charges stain his family and personal honor, but they tainted the building of the canal, which he considered his greatest foreign policy achievement.[2] The building of the canal, finished in 1914, cost $387 million and was then history's most expensive public works. At the time the $40 million purchase of the French canal properties was the most expensive real estate transaction ever. His anger caused Roosevelt to prosecute Joseph Pulitzer, publisher of the *World*, and two of his editors and the publisher and editor of the *Indianapolis News* for criminal libel.[3] The prosecutions failed,[4] but they raised the specter of seditious libel and represented a major challenge to freedom of the press. For the first time since the era of Presidents John Adams and Thomas Jefferson that journalists were prosecuted in federal courts for criticism of government.[5]

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[1] U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Foreign Affairs, *The Story of Panama: Hearings on the Rainey Resolution*, 62d Cong., 2d Sess., 1913, pp. 302, 520-521.

[2] Roosevelt, Theodore, *An Autobiography* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1913), p. 553.

[3] U.S. District Court, District of Columbia, Case File, United States v. Press Publishing Co., 1909, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Suitland, Md.); U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, Case File, United States v. Press

The failure of the prosecutions did not end the controversy over the allegations of financial scandal. Historians have been stumped by the question, "But who got the money?"[6] As a Roosevelt biographer wrote, "It is as much a mystery today as it ever was."[7] Some answers to the question are found in manuscript collections

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Publishing Co. and Caleb Van Hamm, 1909, New York Branch, National Archives, Bayonne, N.J.; U.S. District Court, District of Indiana, United States v. Delavan Smith and Charles R. Williams, 1909, Chicago Branch, National Archives, Chicago, Ill. In addition to Robinson and Charles P. Taft, the defendants were accused of libeling Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, who as secretary of war had been in charge of construction of the Panama Canal; Elihu Root, who served as secretary of war and secretary of state under Roosevelt; J. Pierpont Morgan, who had been financial agent for the purchase of the French canal assets, and William Nelson Cromwell, a pro-Panama lobbyist.

[4] United States v. Press Publishing Co., 219 U.S. 1 (1911); United States v. Smith, 173 F. 227 (D.Ind. 1909).

[5] The Adams administration prosecuted Jeffersonian editors under the Sedition Act of 1798, 1 Stat. 596 (1798), which Congress permitted to expire in 1801. In U.S. v. Hudson and Goodwin, 11 U.S. (7 Cranch) 32 (1812), the Supreme Court struck down the prosecutions of federalist editors under the common law and ruled there is no federal common law of libel.

[6] Bemis. Samuel Flagg, *The Latin American Policy of the United States* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1943), p. 151; Pringle, Henry F., *Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1931), p. 333; LaFeber, Walter, *The Panama Canal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 19-20; McCaleb, Walter F., *Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Albert & Charles Boni, 1931), pp. 170-171; Simon, Maron J., *The Panama Affair* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), pp. 253-254; Ealy, Lawrence O., *Yanqui Politics and the Isthmian Canal* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1971), pp. 67-69; Peirce, Clyde, *The Roosevelt Panama Canal Libel Cases* (New York: Greenwich Book Publishers, 1959), p. 122; Ameringer, Charles D., "Philippe Bunau-Varilla and the Panama Canal," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, 1958, p. 240; Fletcher, William Glover, "Canal Site Diplomacy: A Study in American Political Geography," Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1940, p. 175. The question, "But who got the money?", first appeared in an election eve editorial in the *Indianapolis News* on Nov. 2, 1908. See New York *World*, Dec. 8, 1908, and sampling of opinion of nation's press on Dec. 18, 1908; Stone Jr., M.E., "Theodore Roosevelt---Please Answer," *Metropolitan Magazine*, Vol. 34:3 (June, 1911), pp. 265-278.

[7] Pringle, *op. cit.* , p. 333.

and newspaper archives. While no syndicate existed,[8] Americans did own French canal securities. Based on archival and other research, this paper identifies some of the Americans and two American banking firms that bought and sold French canal securities and profited from the American purchase.[9] Those American's and the two banking firms were:

1) J. & W. Seligman & Co., a New York-based international banking firm whose Paris branch was one of the original underwriters of the French canal enterprise;

2) Isaac N. Seligman, head of the banking firm and an influential Republican who had lobbied the Roosevelt administration to purchase the French canal properties;

3) Clients of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., including Edward H. Harriman, the railroad baron;

4) Partners of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., including Jacob Schiff, head of the firm and one of Wall Street's most powerful bankers.

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[8] An abandoned scheme was sometimes cited as evidence of a syndicate, e.g., New York *World*, Oct. 6 and Dec. 8, 1908. In 1899 William Nelson Cromwell, American counsel for the New Panama Canal Co., and Francis L. Stetson, attorney for J.P. Morgan & Co., incorporated the Panama Canal Co. of America. Related documents included a power of attorney for Cromwell and a syndication agreement. Announced as associated with the venture were J. Pierpont Morgan, George R. Sheldon, a Morgan partner; J. Edwards Simmons, president of the Fourth National Bank of New York and of the Panama Railroad; Kuhn, Loeb & Co., J. & W. Seligman & Co., E.C. Converse, president of National Tube Co., Warner Van Norden, president of the Bank of North American; August Belmont, American representative of the Rothschild banking interests; J.R. DeLamar, and Vernon H. Brown, *New York Times*, Dec. 28 and 29, 1899. The incorporation was part of a scheme to Americanize the company. Shareholders of the French company would receive a majority interest in the new company, which would raise capital in the United States to complete construction of the canal. Directors of the French company approved the plan, but stockholders and the court-appointed representative of de Lesseps company bondholders defeated it. Thereafter it was abandoned. U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record* , Senate, *Panama Canal Purchase*, Message of the President, Dec. 15, 1908, Senate, 60th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 253; U.S. Senate, Document No. 188, Committee on Interoceanic Canals, *New Panama Canal Company of France* , 56th Cong., 1st Sess., 1900, pp. 41-42; U.S. Senate, Committee on Interoceanic Canals, Document No. 401, *Hearings, An Investigation of Matters Relating to the Panama Canal, Etc.*, 59th Cong., 2d Sess., 1907, Vol. II, pp. 1178-1183.

[9] It is possible---even probable---other Americans invested in French canal securities in the ordinary course of business.

This paper also will document the holdings of canal securities of Philippe Bunau-Varilla, a French engineer and journalist, and the compensation of William Nelson Cromwell, the New York lawyer who was American counsel for the French interests. The lobbying of Bunau-Varilla and Cromwell played a key role in the United States decision to build a Panama waterway.

At first Roosevelt claimed that no Americans received any of the $40 million.[10] Later, in a letter to a political ally that was released to the Associated Press, Roosevelt denied that Robinson, who headed a New York City real estate firm, and Charles P. Taft had profited from the purchase and added, "So far as I know there was no syndicate; there certainly was no syndicate in the United States that to my knowledge had any dealings with the Government, directly or indirectly."[11] He told Congress the allegations were "false in every particular from beginning to end. The wickedness of the slanders is surpassed only by their fatuity."[12] Three years later and probably by then in possession of information that some Americans had invested in French canal securities, Roosevelt said, "Doubtless in Paris, and perhaps to a lesser extent in New York, there were speculators who bought and sold in the stock market with a view to the varying conditions from time to time in the course of negotiations, and with a view to the probable outcome of the negotiations."[13]

BACKGROUND OF THE PANAMA CANAL

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[10] Theodore Roosevelt to William Dudley Foulke, Oct. 30, 1908, in Morison, Elting (ed.), *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951-1954), Vol. VI, p. 1323. The $40 million is about $600 million in today's dollars.

[11] Roosevelt to Foulke, Dec. 1, 1908, in Morison, *op. cit.*, p. 1394. Foulke, a Richmond lawyer, had been appointed to the U.S. Civil Service Commission by Roosevelt. At one time he was part owner and editor of the *Richmond Palladium* and from 1909 to 1912 was editor of the *Richmond Evening Item* .

[12] U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record* , Senate, *Panama Canal Purchase*, pp. 249-254, 60th Cong., 2d Sess., Dec. 15, 1908, p. 250.

[13] Roosevelt, Theodore, "How the United States Acquired the Right to Dig the Panama Canal," *Outlook*, Oct. 7, 1911, p. 315.

Construction of the Panama Canal was started in 1881 by the Compagnie Universelle do Canal Interoceanique de Panama (Old Panama Canal Co.), a company founded by Ferdinand de Lesseps, builder of the Suez Canal. De Lesseps persuaded thousands of Frenchmen to join in his vision of a canal across Panama by investing their savings in the stocks and bonds of the enterprise. The company spent $258 million before it became bankrupt.[14] The ensuing scandal, which included exposes of bribes to politicians and the press, rocked France.[15] Only $3.2 million was left by 1890.[16]

In 1894 the assets of the de Lesseps company were acquired by Compagnie Nouvelle du Canal de Panama (New Panama Canal Co.). The firm was capitalized at $13 million, of which $1 million was represented by shares given to Colombia. The liquidator of the old company contributed about $3 million and about $700,000 was raised by a public stock issue. More than $8 million was contributed by executives, bankers and contractors of the de Lesseps company whom a court ruled could be liable for fraud for taking excessive profits from the venture.[17] The group was offered the choice of buying shares or risking a fraud judgment and chose to become stockholders in the new company. Those in the group were known as penalty stockholders and were barred by law from any voice in the management of the new company. The company resumed construction of the canal in 1895 and had completed about $7 million in work by 1900.[18]

American efforts to build a isthmian canal had focused on Nicaragua.[19] The voyage of the battleship *Oregon* around the tip of

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[14] U.S. Senate, Document No. 222, *Report of the Isthmian Canal Commission, 1899-1901*, 58th Cong., 2d Sess., 1904, pp. 209-210.

[15] The scandal is related in Simon, Maron J., *The Panama Affair* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971). See also Mack, Gerstle, *The Land Divided: A History of the Panama Canal and Other Isthmian Canal Projects* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944), pp. 355-390.

[16] U.S. Senate, *Report of the Isthmian Canal Commission, op. cit.*, pp. 209-211.

[17] *Ibid* , p. 58.

[18] *Ibid* , p. 59.

[19] The Maritime Canal Co. of Nicaragua was chartered by Congress in 1889. Its president was Hiram Hitchcock, a New York hotel owner. Among its directors and executive committee members was James Roosevelt, an investment banker

South America during the Spanish-American War had mobilized public opinion behind the building of an isthmian canal as a national defense as well as commercial project. In 1898 it appeared certain Congress would approve construction of a government-owned Nicaragua waterway, but that opinion was reversed in a four-year lobbying campaign. In mid-1902 Congress passed the Spooner Act,[20] which approved the purchase of the French canal properties for $40 million and the building of a canal across Panama.

The pro-Panama lobby was led by William Nelson Cromwell, a wealthy New York lawyer and American counsel of the New Panama Canal Co., and Philippe Bunau-Varilla, who had been chief engineer and later a major construction contractor of the de Lesseps company.[21] After Colombia refused to ratify a treaty granting the United States a right-of-way for the canal, Cromwell and Bunau-Varilla became masterminds and financiers of the revolution that separated Panama from Colombia.[22] Bunau-Varilla was appointed Panama's first minister to the United States and negotiated with

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and father of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. See U.S. Senate, Document No. 253, Committee on Interoceanic Canals, *Hearings on the Panama Canal*, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., 1902, particularly pp. 347-351 The company contracted construction to the Nicaragua Canal Construction Co., headed by Warner Miller, a former U.S. senator from New York. Among its stovckholders were Andrew Carnegie, John W. Mackay, H.O. Armour, Cornelius N. Bliss and Henry M. Flagler. *New York Times*, April 2, 1892. The company started construction of the Nicaragua waterway, but it went bankrupt in 1893. U.S. Senate, *Hearings on the Panama Canal*, *op. cit.*, pp. 393-394. In 1898 the Nicaraguan government awarded another concession to a syndicate headed by William R. Grace, a trading magnate and ex-mayor of New York City; Edward Cragin, the contractor for the Chicago drainage canal, and Edward Eyre, a New York businessman. Its directors included Warner Miller, John Jacob Astor, George Westinghouse, Darius O. Mills, Robert Goelet and Levi P. Morton. *New York Times*, Dec. 13, 1897, and Jan. 9, 1898. See U.S. Senate, *Hearings on the Panama Canal*, *op. cit.*, particularly pp. 434-440.

[20] 32 Stat. 481 (1902).

[21] Ameringer, Charles D., "The Panama Canal Lobby of Philippe Bunau-Varilla and William Nelson Cromwell," *American Historical Review*, Vol. 68 (February, 1966), pp. 28-52; Spellman, Robert L., "The Panama Canal Decision: A Case Study of Political Public Relations," paper presented to International Communication Association, Miami, Fla., May 23, 1992.

[22] U.S. House of Representatives, *Story of Panama*, 1913, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-43, 340-500; Mack, *op. cit.*, pp. 453-468.

Secretary of State John Hay the treaty that granted the canal zone to the United States.[23]

PREVIOUS FINANCIAL STORIES

The 1908 story was not the first to charge that Americans would profit from the purchase of French canal properties. One of the earliest was written by James Creelman and appeared in the pro-Nicaragua newspapers of William Randolph Heart. It alleged that J. Pierpont Morgan, the nation's leading banker, had formed a "gigantic Wall Street syndicate" to gain control of the French canal assets.[24] In 1902, after the U.S. Senate passed the Spooner Act, O.O. Stealey, the Washington correspondent for the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, wrote:

> The little gentlemen from Paris, who have been hanging around the corridors of the Capitol for the last month or six weeks, are happy tonight and are enjoying themselves with hot birds and cold bottles. The cause of their happiness and extravagance is the passage by the Senate today of the Panama gold-brick scheme.[25]

The *Courier-Journal*, edited by Henry Watterson and one of the nation's most influential newspapers, continued to allege financial scandal until 1910. Watterson tagged Bunau-Varilla with the name "Vanilla Bean." Convinced of scandal in the purchase of the French properties, Watterson attributed the wrongdoing to "the Forty Thieves and the Forty Millions---twenty for the thieves in Paris and twenty for the thieves in Washington."[26] The *Courier-Journal* never named any of those it believed speculated in French canal securities and corruptly influenced Congress.[27]

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[23] Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty.

[24] *New York Journal*, April 7, 1901.

[25] *Louisville Courier-Journal*, June 20, 1902.

[26] *Ibid*, Dec. 19, 1908.

[27] Watterson was a close friend and correspondent of Sen. John Tyler Morgan, the Alabama Democrat who was the champion of a Nicaragua canal. Morgan wrote a lengthy letter to Watterson in which he cited what he claimed were examples of bribery and patronage to obtain votes for the Spooner Act.

In Panama the *Star & Herald* reported in 1903 that "(w)hat portion of the $40 million will ever find its way into the pockets of members of the New Panama Canal Company is, therefore, mere conjecture."[28] The *Star & Herald* also printed a denial by George W. Perkins, a partner in J.P. Morgan & Co., that his firm was forming a syndicate to buy canal securities.[29] In a 1904 news story, without alleging any misconduct, the *New York Times* reported:

> In the first place it is likely that some considerable proportion of the stock in the Panama Company is owned in the United States. Estimates vary on this point, some having it that as high as 50 or 60 percent is going to stay here. . .(F)rom 40 to 50 percent would be a fair estimate of American holdings.
>
> In this connection it is interesting to note the opinion which is held in financial circles in Paris that perhaps half the Panama stock is now controlled by American interests and the payment will therefore largely remain in this country.[30]

In 1906 the *Times* editorialized:

> The history of the Panama Canal is one long track and trail of scandal. There has been scandal in the remote past, in the recent past, there is some now, and we much fear there will be more in the future. There is some reason to believe that fat American profits were realized out of the payment to the Frenchmen.[31]

The most sensational story was published in the *World* in early 1904. It alleged the Panama revolution was "fostered and promoted in many ways by a syndicate of New York and Paris brokers who had formed an immense pool for speculating in the

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Apparently he decided not to send the letter. John Tyler Morgan to Henry Watterson, Dec. 10, 1903, John Tyler Morgan Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[28] Panama *Star & Herald*, March 19, 1903.

[29] *Ibid*, March 20, 1903.

[30] *New York Times*, Feb. 5, 1904. See *ibid*, Feb. 9, 1904.

[31] *Ibid*, March 22, 1906.

shares and other securities of the Panama Canal Company."[32] The story claimed that Philippe Bunau-Varilla, then Panama's minister to the United States, was the chief agent of the syndicate and had furnished $100,000 to finance the revolution. Named as head of the syndicate was Maurice Bunau-Varilla, brother of Philippe and publisher of the Paris daily newspaper *Le Matin*. The story predicted the syndicate would make a profit of $4 million when the United States purchased the French canal properties.[33]

The tale of a syndicate was false, but the story gained credence because its description of Bunau-Varilla's role in the Panama revolution was accurate. By the time the story was published Bunau-Varilla and Cromwell had become enemies. Bunau-Varilla suspected Cromwell was the source of the *World* story because the lawyer's role in the revolution was not mentioned. Later the *World* informed Bunau-Varilla that it had paid Jonas Whitley, a former *World* reporter, $100 for the information.[34]

THE 1908 FINANCIAL SCANDAL STORY

The allegations in the 1908 campaign arose when Cromwell complained to the Manhattan district attorney that he was the target of a blackmail attempt. He told authorities that a group had demanded $25,000 in return for suppressing a story that alleged corruption in the purchase of the French canal properties.[35] Apparently Cromwell was targeted because he was a key adviser to

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[32] New York *World*, Jan. 17, 1904.

[33] *Ibid*.

[34] Don C. Seitz to Bunau-Varilla, July 2, 1909, Philippe Bunau-Varilla Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[35] New York *World*, Oct. 3, 1908. Nobody was ever prosecuted for extortion. The same information had been offered to the Republican and Democratic national committees. The information peddling group's source was Alexander S. Bacon, a New York City lawyer, who had been to Paris to investigate the alleged syndicate. Federal prosecutors believed the group was the Blue Pencil Gang, a group that blackmailed wealthy men in return for suppressing embarrassing information. *New York Times*, Jan. 28, 1909; Ewbank, Louis B., *The Indianapolis News Panama Libel Case*, Transcript of Proceedings and Comment, Stenographer: Margaret Wells (Indianapolis: Fulmer-Cornelius Press, 1909), p. 111. The amount of the alleged profit varied widely in future stories.

William Howard Taft. The *World*, then New York City's leading newspaper with a circulation of 350,000, learned of and published the story. The story alleged Cromwell and Bunau-Varilla:

> had formed a syndicate at the time when it was quite evident that the United States would take over the rights of the French bondholders in the De Lesseps Canal, and that this syndicate included among others Charles P. Taft, brother of William H. Taft, and Douglas Robinson, brother-in-law of President Roosevelt. Other men more prominent in the New York world of finance were also mentioned.[36]

The story claimed the syndicated purchased the bonds of the de Lesseps company and the stock of the New Panama Canal Co. for $3.5 million. It asserted:

> These financiers invested their money because of a full knowledge of the intention of the Government to acquire the French property at a price of about $40,000,000, and thus---because of their alleged information from high Government sources---were enabled to reap a rich profit.
>
> It was further stated that the story as told against Mr. Cromwell fixed the profit of the syndicate at $36,500,000, this amount being divided among favorites in the world of politics and finance.[37]

The story was picked up by the wire services and carried by most of the nation's newspapers. The *World* and other newspapers followed up with stories that attempted to confirm the initial account. One of the most important was a widely reprinted dispatch from Paris of the *Chicago Daily News*. That story quoted French bankers who said that an American syndicate was "engaged for many months in buying up the old Panama shares at the cheapest rate possible."[38] The story named Cromwell, Charles P. Taft and J. Pierpont Morgan, the nation's most powerful banker, as members of the syndicate. The only person quoted by name was Maurice Hutin, a former president of the New Panama Canal Co. Hutin said the $40 million "never reached the shareholders of the old or new French companies, as the United States government naively thought it did."[39]

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[36] New York *World*, Oct. 3, 1903. The story and others identified Charles P. Taft as the brother of William Howard Taft. In fact, the two men had different mothers and were half brothers.

[37] *Ibid*. The *World* had received a tip about persons trying to get money from Cromwell in connection with the Panama revolution, The newspaper was unable to confirm the story, but its inquiries apparently convinced Cromwell that the *World* had obtained the story and was going to publish it. Jonas Whitley, the Cromwell publicist, visited the *World* newsroom to deny the truth of the allegations of a syndicate. By indicating to Whitley that he knew more than he did, Caleb Van Hamm, the managing edito, induced Whitley to tell the details of the story. Van Hamm rushed the story into print without any verification and left the *World* exposed to libel actions.

The stories were false. Later, after attempts to prosecute it for criminal libel failed, the newspaper said it "is fair to say that information in the possession of the *World* completely substantiates Mr. Charles P. Taft's denial that he had any interest, direct or indirect, in the sale of the Panama Canal."[40] As for Douglas Robinson, the *World* said "there is nothing to show that he was an associate of Mr. Cromwell's in the sale of the canal."[41] The *New York Tribune* said the French justice and foreign affairs ministries found no evidence of profiteering by an American syndicate.[42] Archival files show that Georges-Emile Lemarquis, the receiver for the de Lesseps company, and Marius Bo, the last president of the New Panama Canal Co., swore that no Americans held de Lesseps company bonds and none of the Americans named in any of the news stories had owned New Panama Canal Co. stock.[43] Earlier Lemarquis said he did not

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[38] *Chicago Daily News*, Oct. 6, 1908; New York *World*, *Indianapolis News*, *Louisville Courier-Journal*, Oct. 7, 1908.

[39] *Ibid* .

[40] U.S. House of Representatives, *Story of Panama*, 1913, *op. cit.*, p. 302. See also pp. 520-521.

[41] *Ibid*.

[42] *New York Tribune*, Dec. 12, 1908.

[43] U.S. Attorney Henry Wise to Attorney General George W. Wickersham, July 27, 1909, Albert K. Steigerwalt/Earl Harding Panama Papers, School of Journalism, Southern Illinois University-Carbondale. See also U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, Case File, 1909, United States v. Press Publishing Co. and Caleb Van Hamm, *op. cit.* , where transcripts of depositions are filed. The depositions of the officials did not rule out the possibility that Americans were the beneficial owners of securities redeemed in nominee

"hesitate, in speaking from personal knowledge, to brand the story of the existence of an American syndicate to which the purchase money is supposed eventually to have gone as a fable invented out of whole cloth."[44]

Hutin was a questionable source. During 1900-1901, when he was president of the New Panama Canal Co., Hutin resisted any sale to the United States. There is some evidence he was convinced that France and Germany would combine to block an American-built Panama waterway.[45] When the United States insisted on a sale and asked for a price, he said the price should be set by arbitrators and include a scheme for sharing of future profits. Finally he placed an evaluation of $109 million on the French properties. That forced the Isthmian Canal Commission, a group appointed by the president to study canal routes, to recommend a Nicaragua canal.[46] The outcome was the ouster of Hutin and an offer of the French properties to the United States for $40 million. The offer resulted in the commission changing its recommendation to the Panama route[47] and the approval of that route by Congress.[48] Hutin's policies were costly to canal company stockholders. The Isthmian Canal Commission had indicated it would approve the Panama route if the canal company would agree to a $60 million price.[49] The valuation was cut to $40 million in the commission's report. Thus, Hutin's intransigence cost the company $20 mllion and gave him reason to be bitter at Cromwell and Bunau-Varilla, who had urged him to accept the $60 million price.[50]

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accounts of banks. See also the statement by Lemarquis in *New York Times*, Dec. 12, 1908.

[44] Panama *Star & Herald* , Jan. 6, 1909 (Paris dateline of Dec. 23, 1908).

[45] Curtis, William J., *Memoirs* (Portland, Me.: Mosher Press, 1928), p. 94. Curtis was a partner of Cromwell.

[46] U.S. Senate, *Istmian Canal Commission Report*, *op. cit.* , pp. 171-175.

[47] *Ibid*, pp. 675-681.

[48] Spooner Act, 32 Stat. 481 (1902).

[49] U.S. House of Representatives, *Story of Panama* , 1913, *op. cit.*, p. 241; Curtis, *op. cit.*, p. 95; Bunau-Varilla, Philippe, *Panama: Its Creation, Destruction, and Resurrection* (New York: McBride, Nast & Co., 1914), p. 206.

[50] *Ibid*.

On the eve of the 1908 the *Indianapolis News* published an editorial that triggered the chain of events that led to prosecution of the publishers and editors of the *World* and *News* for criminal libel.[51] It also voiced the question that has intrigued historians. In part the editorial read:

> There is no doubt that the government paid $40,000,000 for the property. *But who got the money* ? The administration and Mr. Taft do not think it right that the people should know. The president's brother-in-law is involved in the scandal, but he has nothing to say. The candidate's brother has been charged with being a member of the syndicate. He has, it is true, denied it. But he refuses to appeal to the evidence, all of which is in the possession of the administration, and wholly inaccessible to outsiders. For weeks the scandal has been before the people. The records are in Washington, and they are public records. But the people are not to see them---till after the election, if then.[52]

There had been stories that the records had been sent to Washington.[53] They were inaccurate. The stockholder lists and records of payments to shareholders were in a bank vault at Credit Lyonnaise and could be opened only if there was evidence of fraud in the sale of assets to the United States.[54] The records of payments to bondholders were in the custody of the Civil Tribunal of the Seine.[55] The bondholder records were not public and Georges-Emile Lemarquis, the bondholders' court-appointed attorney, refused to make them public.[56]

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[51] The chain of events started with a letter from Roosevelt to William Dudley Foulke, an Indiana political ally, that was released to the Associated Press, in which Roosevelt called the canal syndicate allegations false and hurled some billingsgate at Delavan Smith, publisher of the *News* . Roosevelt to Foulke, Dec. 1, 1908, in Morison (ed.), *op. cit.*, Vol. Vi, pp. 1393-1397. After the *World* defended the *News* in an editorial that labeled Roosevelt a liar, the president started the criminal libel prosecutions. New York *World*, Dec. 8, 1908. Roosevelt to Henry L. Stimson, Dec. 9, 1908, in Morison (ed.), *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1414-1417.

[52] *Indianapolis News*, Nov. 2, 1908 (emphasis added).

[53] New York *World*, Oct. 14, 1908; *Rocky Mountain News* and *Indianapolis News*, among others, Oct. 17, 1908. There also were stories that the records were not in Washington. *Chicago Inter-Ocean*, among others, Oct. 17, 1908. The offer of sale from the New Panama Canal Co. included "all maps and archives in Paris." U.S. Senate, *Report of the Isthmian Canal Commission*, *op. cit.*, p. 676. Philander Knox, attorney general at the time the transaction was closed, interpreted the offer not to include stockholder records. U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record,Panama Canal Purchase*, *op. cit.*, p. 253. A Department of War law officer issued a legal opinion stating that the United States was not entitled to the stockholder records. U.S. Senate, Document No. 589, *Panama Canal Company*, Message of the President, Dec. 16, 1908, 60th Cong., 2d Sess., 1909, pp. 2-4. In a calmer political climate, a report of the Panama Canal Commission said that only a small part of the records in Paris to which the United States was entitled were turned over. Record Bureau, Panama Canal Commission, "Report

FORMAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE $40 MILLION

The United States paid the purchase price of $40 million to J.P. Morgan & Co.,[57] its financial agent. The banker shipped $18 million in gold to France and purchased $22 million in francs on European exchanges.[58] The bullion and money were paid on June 2, 1904, to the Bank of France.[59] Morgan realized compensation of $35,000 based on the difference in exchange rates.[60] The old and new canal companies had submitted the issue of how the $40 million should be

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on French Records," Dec. 21, 1915, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Suitland, Md.).

[54] U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record , Panama Canal Purchase, op. cit.*, p. 254; U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York, Case File, United States v. Press Publishing Co. and Caleb Van Hamm, *op. cit.*; U.S. Attorney Henry Wise to Attorney General George W. Wickersham, June 24, 1909, Steigerwalt/Harding Panama Papers, *op. cit.*

[55] U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record, Panama Canal Purchase, op. cit.*, p. 254.

[56] *New York Times*, Dec. 12, 1908.

[57] Treasury Warrant No. 4860, May 9, 1904, Treasury Accounting Records, Judicial, Fiscal and Social Branch, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (Suitland, Md.). The Treasury received a deposit of bonds from Morgan as security for the transaction. Morgan also was financial agent for the Republic of Panama. The bank paid Panama $10 million for the canal zone concession in payments of $1 million and $9 million.

[58] *New York Times*, May 27, 1904.

[59] Curtis, William J., "The History of the Purchase by the United States of the Panama Canal; the Manner of Payment; and the Distribution of the Proceeds of Sale," 1909 *Alabama Bar Association* 129-151, p. 146.

[60] *Ibid.* See also U.S. Senate, *Investigation of Matters Relating to the Panama Canal, op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 1112-1113. Carossa places the profit on the transaction at $57,283, of which Morgan received $28,632 and six other banks in a Morgan-led syndicate received $28,651. Carossa, Vincent P., *The Morgans: Private International Bankers 1854-1913* (Cambridge: Hardvard University Press, 1987), pp. 525-526.

divided to arbitrators, who decided to give about 62.5 percent to the de Lesseps company bondholders and about 37.5 percent to the new company stockholders.[61] In addition, the new company stockholders were to receive $2 million that was in cash in the company's treasury.[62] The de Lesseps company's bonded debt had totaled about $195 million. The liquidator paid out about 13 cents on the dollar to 226,296 bondholders. The average amount paid was $156.[63] Stockholders of the New Panama Canal Co., totaling 6,796, received about $26 per share for shares issued at $20.[64] Seventy percent of the stockholders whose shares were redeemed bought their shares in 1894.[65]

Bunau-Varilla was the only key player in the canal transaction to provide more precise information. He said that only one American, a banker whose holdings predated the plan for the American purchase,[66] was on any of the lists of payees.[67] That did not exclude the possibility of American speculators holding securities through banks or other nominees. Bunau-Varilla reported that no bondholder or stockholder received more than $260,000 and not more than 30 persons received more than $80,000.[68] The distribution to large numbers of securities holders precluded a syndicate of the size alleged in the *World* story. As Bunau-Varilla stated, it was "impossible that any individual American, or any American or French group of financiers, could have had a finger in the transaction without such facts being disclosed by the records."[69]

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[61] A copy of the arbitration decision is found in U.S. Senate, Document No. 589, *Panama Canal Company* , Senate Documents, 60th Cong., 2d Sess., 1908, pp. 8-9. Arbitrators allowed the de Lesseps company bondholders $4 million for the Panama Railroad and the new company $1 million that it had paid to Colombia for an extension of the canal concession. The remaining funds were split 60 percent to the bondholders and 40 percent to the new company stockholders.

[62] *Ibid*, p. 10. The document includes the report of the council of administration (board of directors) at the meeting of stockholders of the New Panama Canal Co. that ratified the sale of the company's assets to the United States.

[63] U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record* , *Panama Canal Purchase*, *op. cit.*, p. 254; Curtis, "History of the Purchase," *op. cit.*, p. 149.

[64]. U.S. Congress, *Congressional Record* , *Panama Canal Purchase*, *op. cit.*, p. 254; Curtis, "History of the Purchase," *op. cit.*, p. 149. Since shares were purchased in 1894 and the sale was completed in 1904, it appears the stockholders received a return of 3 percent annually. That is misleading because the purchase of shares was paid for in four installments between 1894 and 1902 and the shares were redeemed in payments on July 15, 1904, Feb. 8, 1908, and June 15, 1908.

[65] Curtis, "History of the Purchase," *op. cit.*, p. 149.

[66] The reference was to J. & W. Seligman & Co.

[67] Panama *Star & Herald*, Jan. 6, 1909. The *Star & Herald* generally received its foreign dispatches through the *New York Herald* .

Shares of the New Panama Canal Co. were not listed on the Paris Bourse until March, 1902, and could not be sold before then.[70] Between then and April, 1904, when the sale to the United States was completed, the price per share, issued at 100 francs, fell as low as 65 francs.[71] The price of bonds of the old company traded as low as six cents on the dollar. Thus, there was ample room for speculation. In fact, there was substantial liquidation by large shareholders who had been forced to invest in the New Panama Canal Co. or face legal action for fraud as a result of their undue profits from the de Lesseps company. Among the large shareholders were:[72]

Gustave Eiffel	$2,000,000
De Lesseps Company Administrators	1,577,000
Credit Lyonnaise	800,000
Societe Generale	800,000
Hugo Oberndorffer, Banker	760,000

If Bunau-Varilla is correct in saying that no person received more than $260,000, then the large shareholders sold substantial holdings.

There was a legal reason for having Morgan pay the gold and francs to the Bank of France. Funds in the bank could not be attached under French law. In France the Colombian government had sued to prevent the closing of the sale and the distribution of proceeds.[73] Warren B. Wilson, a Chicago attorney, had sought an order forbidding the Treasury Department to pay out the $40 million purchase price.[74] Both actions were pending when the sale was completed. Cromwell and Morgan mapped out a strategy of avoiding "seizures, injunctions, or other legal actions whatever in New York or on the way."[75] Wilson had contended the Spooner Act authorized only the negotiation of a treaty with Colombia and not one with Panama. He was unsuccessful in persuading a court to halt the transaction and the U.S. Supreme Court ultimately upheld the purchase.[76] The Colombian suit failed in the French courts.[77]

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[68] *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 10, 1908.

[69] *New York Tribune*, Dec. 13, 1908.

[70] U.S. Attorney Henry Wise to Attorney General George W. Wickersham, July 27, 1909, Steigerwalt/Harding Panama Papers, School of Journalism, Southern Illinois University-Carbondale. While the shares could not be sold, there was nothing to prevent assignment of beneficial ownership.

[71] Harding, Earl, *The Untold Story of Panama* (New York: Athene Press, 1959), p. 64..

[72] U.S. Senate, *Report of the Isthmian Canal Commission, op. cit.*, p. 58.

While there was no American syndicate or any evidence of corrupt behavior, some Americans did speculate in French canal securities.[78]

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[73] U.S. Senate, *Panama Canal Co.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-8.

[74] Wilson v. Shaw, 204 U.S. 24 (1907).

[75] U.S. House of Representatives, *Story of Panama*, 1913, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

[76] 204 U.S. 24, 32-35.

[77] Mack, *op. cit.*, p. 480.

[78] Evidence of the speculation is found in the Seligman Family Papers, New York Historical Society, New York, N.Y., and the Steigerwalt/Harding Panama Papers, School of Journalism, Southern Illinois University-Carbondale. Earl Harding was an investigative reporter who helped gather information for the New York *World* 's defense in the Roosevelt criminal libel prosecution. He stored the information gathered by the *World* after the Pulitzer Building on Park Row was demolished in 1923. He used the papers in writing *The Untold Story of Panama* (New York: Athene Press, 1959). Upon Harding's death, some of the papers were acquired by Dr. Albert K. Steigerwalt, professor of business history, University of Michigan. Dr. Steigerwalt kindly donated them to Southern Illinois University-Carbondale. The University of Oklahoma University Libraries, depository of the J. & W. Seligman & Co. Papers, has informed the author the collection does not appear to have documents of the firm's dealings in French canal securities. Sydona Baroff, Librarian, to author, Dec. 17, 1990.

THE HOUSE OF SELIGMAN

In post-Civil War United States, J. & W. Seligman & Co. emerged as one of the nation's strongest investment banks.[79] Among banks headed by men of German Jewish background, the New York-based House of Seligman "constructed the strongest network of all. . .(T)he family was unrivaled in its international framework."[80] The Seligmans were eight brothers who had emigrated to America from Bavaria and established themselves as dry goods merchants. They became involved in banking in the 1850s when their San Francisco store started shipping gold bullion to New York. During the Civil War they became clothing contractors for Union armies[81] and started selling United States bonds abroad. Their first bond sales came at a crucial time. Bonds sold by the Seligmans in Germany brought in funds at a time when English and French capital markets were closed to the Union. By the end of the war their bond sales totaled $200 million.[82] By 1864 the brothers had $1,250,000 in capital and on May 1, 1864, opened J. & W. Seligman & Co. as a banking partnership.

The firm expanded rapidly and established branches in Frankfurt, London, Paris, Amsterdam, Berlin, San Francisco and New Orleans. What distinguished the Seligmans was "their ability to recruit foreign capital,"[83] which they invested in railroads and other American industries. Until the late 1890s the New York office and the branches were one firm. The operations were directed from New

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[79] The firm remains in existence today as a money manager and mutual fund distributor, but the last member of the Seligman family associated with it retired in 1937.

[80] Supple, Barry E., "A Business Elite: German-Jewish Financiers in Nineteenth Century New York," 31:2 *Business History Review* (Summer, 1957), p. 177.

[81] Between Aug. 1, 1861, and July 31, 1862, the firm received $1,437,483 in payments on clothing contracts. Muir, Ross L., and Carl J. White, *Over the Long Term. . .The Story of J. & W. Seligman & Co.* (New York: J. & W. Seligman & Co., 1964).

[82] Carossa, Vincent P., *Investment Banking in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 18.

[83] *Ibid.*

York.[84] Until his death in 1880, the firm was headed by Joseph Seligman, the eldest brother, who had turned down an opportunity during the Grant administration to become the nation's first Jewish cabinet member.[85] He was succeeded by Jesse Seligman. Seligman Freres et Cie, the Paris branch, was opened in 1868 with William Seligman and Max Hellman, a Seligman brother-in-law, as the resident partners.

In 1880, as a result of William Seligman's negotiations with de Lesseps, Seligman Freres et Cie became a co-manager of the sale of $60 million of Old Panama Canal Co. shares to the French public.[86] The flotation opened a relationship with Panama waterway enterprises that would continue for 25 years. William Seligman and Hellman served as directors of the de Lesseps company.[87] William Seligman was a vice president.[88] In the United States, de Lesseps created the American Committee, composed of J. & W. Seligman & Co., Drexel, Morgan & Co., and Winslow, Lanier & Co. Richard W. Thompson resigned as secretary of the navy to become chairman of the committee. In fact, the committee was mostly a facade. Jesse Seligman was de Lesseps' envoy in the United States and directed the activities of the committee.[89] The Seligman firm received $400,000 for serving on the committee.

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[84] Wells, Linton, "The House of Seligman," Unpublished and Unpaged Manuscript, Seligman Family Papers, New York Historical Society; Muir, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.

[85] Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Wells, *op. cit.*

[86] *New York Herald*, Oct. 4, 1880. Other co-managers were Societe Generale, Credit Lyonnaise, Credit Industrial and the Suez Canal Co. Simon, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[87] U.S. Senate, *Hearings on the Panama Canal*, *op. cit.*, By-Laws of the Universal Interoceanic Panama Canal Company, p. 303.

[88] Bunau-Varilla, *Panama: Its Creation, Destruction, and Resurrection* (New York: McBride, Nast & Co., 1924), p. 538.

[89] Jesse Seligman to Richard W. Thompson, June 6, 1884, Richard W. Thompson Papers, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis, Ind.; *New York Times*, Feb. 15, 1888. A congressional panel found the other bankers on the American Committee had "no specific duties to render" and held "no regular meetings, and some members. . .were never present at a meeting or knew whether any minutes were ever kept." U.S. House of Representatives, Report No. 2615, *Investigation of Panama Canal*, 52d Cong., 2d Sess., 1893, p. 3. Each of the three banking houses received $50,000 annually for serving on the committee.

J. & W. Seligman & Co., as well as other bankers, was unsuccessful in marketing canal company stock and bonds in the United States. Only about $200,000 in securities were sold to American investors.[90] The firm was the de Lesseps company's banker in the United States and received compensation for banking services. The Seligman firm also received commissions on purchases of about $40 million in supplies and equipment in the United States.[91] The banking house supervised the purchase for the canal company of 68,500 of the 70,000 shares of the Panama Railroad Co., an American corporation, for about $20 million. There is evidence that Seligman and the other American Committee members received up to $2.8 million for their services in acquiring the railroad shares.[92] The Seligman firm financed Franco-American Trading Co., one of the two United States companies that received major canal excavation contracts.[93]

After the collapse of the de Lesseps company, Seligman Freres et Cie, the Paris branch, became a stockholder in the New Panama Canal Co. The firm had no choice. It was among the group of executives, bankers and contractors of the de Lesseps company that was offered a choice of buying shares of the new company or being sued for fraud. In 1897 the Seligmans decided to end common ownership of the firm's offices and make each branch independent. The agreement among the partners disclosed that the Paris branch held 29,264 shares of the New Panama Canal Co.[94] At that time shares of the new company owned by penalty stockholders could not be sold. So the shares undoubtedly were purchased to settle liability stemming from the firm's underwriting of de Lesseps company securities and the service of William Seligman and Hellman as directors. The purchase price of the shares was $585,300. The agreement placed ownership of the shares with J. & W. Seligman & Co. in New York.[95]

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[90] U.S. Senate, *Hearings on the Panama Canal, op. cit.*, p. 203.

[91] U.S. House of Representatives, *Investigation of Panama Canal, op. cit.*, p. 5. Particularly large purchases of railroad rolling stock were made in the United States. Thompson to Ferdinand de Lesseps, Jan. 31, 1883, and April 8, 1885, Panama Canal Co. Records, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[92] *Ibid.*

[93] Bunau-Varilla, *Panama: Its Creation, Destruction, and Resurrection, op. cit.*, p. 538.

[94] A copy of the agreement is found in Wells, *op. cit.*

Isaac N. Seligman, son of Joseph Seligman, became head of the New York firm in 1893. During the administrations of Presidents William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt, he lobbied friends in Washington to approve the purchase by the United States of the French canal properties. At first, given the scandal attached to the de Lesseps venture and the anti-American bent of the French during the Spanish-American War, the purchase did not appear politically feasible. In May, 1898, Isaac N. Seligman wrote his uncle William in Paris:

> The unfriendly attitude of France in the present conflict with Spain will make it impossible to effect any satisfactory arrangements in Washington or elsewhere as to aiding the Panama Canal Co. It is unfortunate and it is not improbable that the Nicaraguan (canal) will now be vigorously pushed as the necessity for an inter-oceanic canal has been vividly brought before the public attention by the *Oregon* circumnavigating the Cape and South America.[96]

Isaac N. Seligman was a friend of Sen. Mark Hanna, an Ohio Republican and chairman of the Republican National Committee, who played the key role in obtaining the approval of Congress in 1902 to buy the French properties.[97] After Congress created the Isthmian Canal Commission to study the Panama and Nicaragua routes, he wrote Hanna:

> It does appear to me that it would be an unwise move on the part of Congress to take any action on the pending Nicaragua bill until the present Inter-Oceanic Commission shall have

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[95] *Ibid.* The settlements with the penalty shareholders provided for the purchase price to be paid in installments. J. & W. Seligman & Co. agreed to assume responsibility for paying future installments.

[96] Isaac N. Seligman to William Seligman, May 17, 1898, in Wells, *op. cit.*

[97] Seligman also knew President Roosevelt, whom he served as an adviser during the 1901 Venezuela debt crisis.

reported on the respective merits of the various proposed canals.[98]

In March, 1901, Seligman introduced Philippe Bunau-Varilla, whose lobbying was to be an important factor in the United States decision to buy the French company's assets, to Hanna.[99] Seligman wrote Max Hellman:

> Sen. Hanna told me there is quite a change in the views of the Isthmian Canal Committee, as the Committee is beginning to realize that there are serious disadvantages as to the Nicaraguan Canal. Senator Hanna is of the opinion that if the Panama Canal people can arrange among themselves for the sale to the United States for a lump sum, say, of $50,000,000 or $60,000,000, turning over the canal clear of all barnacles, there will be a fair chance of the committee favoring the Panama in preference to the Nicaraguan. Of course, nothing can be done now, but by the time Congress meets in December, Hanna is of the opinion that Secretary Hay and Salisbury will agree upon a satisfactory settlement of the Clayton-Bulwer difficulties.[100]

Maurice Hutin, the president of the canal company, wanted a much higher price and a profit-sharing agreement from the United States. Cromwell, the company's American counsel, favored a sale in the $50-to-$60 million range. Isaac Seligman informed his brother and Hellman that "Cromwell. . .told me that the difficulty in Paris in agreeing upon a cash price for the sale to the United States was so great that there appeared to be no satisfactory solution."[101] Cromwell pressed Hutin for a decision. Hutin responded by firing Cromwell and suggesting to the Isthmian Canal Commission that the French properties were worth $109 million.[102] Then the commission estimated the value of the canal company's assets at $40 million and recommended that the United States build a Nicaragua canal. Stockholders led by Bunau-Varilla brought about a change in management and an offer of the properties to the United States for $40 million.[103] Isaac N. Seligman kept in close touch with Hanna[104] and Bunau-Varilla[105] while Congress was debating during the first half of 1902 whether to buy the French properties.

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[98] Isaac N. Seligman to Mark Hanna, Feb. 26, 1900, in Wells, *op. cit.* Wells claimed Seligman made a $60,000 campaign contribution to the Republicans in 1900. Undoubtedly he made a contribution, but probably not in that amount. Most likely Wells attributed to Seligman a $60,000 contribution made by William Nelson Cromwell on behalf of the French canal company.

[99] Ameringer, Charles D., "Phillipe Bunau-Varilla and the Panama Canal," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, 1958, pp. 100-101; Isaac N. Seligman to Philippe Bunau-Varilla, March 27, 1901, Philippe Bunau-Varilla Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

[100] Isaac N. Seligman to Max Hellman, March 13, 1901, in Wells, *op. cit.* Provisions of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty obligated the United States to share control of any government-built canal with Great Britain. The provisions were removed in the Hay-Paunceforte Treaty.

Not until June, 1904, did the United States pay the $40 million for the French canal assets. Based on the $26 per share paid out for shares of the New Panama Canal Co., the J. & W. Seligman & Co. shares were worth $760,900. If Bunau-Varilla is correct in his statement that no security holder received more than $260,000, then the Seligman firm disposed of most of its holdings between March, 1902, when the shares were listed on the Paris Bourse, and June, 1904, when the $40 million was paid. While the Seligman holdings in the New Panama Canal Co. were substantial, they were a result of the firm's involvement with the de Lesseps company. There is nothing in the firm's behavior to suggest it was part of a syndicate or had engaged in financial wrongdoing.

ACTIVITIES OF KUHN, LOEB & CO.

By the early 1900s Kuhn, Loeb & Co. had replaced J. & W. Seligman & Co. as the leading German Jewish banking firm and ranked second only to J.P. Morgan & Co. among Wall Street firms.[106]

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[101] Wells, *op. cit.*

[102] U.S. Senate, *Report of the Isthmian Canal Commission*, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-159.

[103] *Ibid*, p. 676; *New York Tribune*, Dec. 22, 1901; Bunau-Varilla, Philippe, *Panama: Its Creation, Destruction, and Resurrection*, *op, cit.*, p. 208.

[104] Isaac N. Seligman to Hanna, March 20, 1902, in Wells, *op. cit.*

[105] Bunau-Varilla to Isaac N. Seligman, March 31, 1902, Bunau-Varilla Papers, Library of Congress.

[106] Supple, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

Its head was Jacob H. Schiff, who teamed with Edward H. Harriman, president of the Union Pacific Railroad, to dominate the western railroads. In one of the great struggles of turn-of-the-century capitalism, Schiff and Harriman fought Morgan and James J. Hill to a draw in a fight for control of the Northern Pacific Railroad.[107]

During the 1880s Schiff followed the affairs of the de Lesseps company. When the company crashed, Schiff wrote Sir Ernest Cassel, the English financier and adviser to the future King Edward VII, about the outlook:

> As I gather from the newspapers, it seems now to be definite that the work on the Panama Canal will not be resumed, and that therefore the concession will probably be dropped. Has not the time come to buy, at a reasonable price, the Panama Railroad shares which are held by the Canal company? I assume the liquidator will have to dispose of the marketable assets. Even if the Nicaragua Canal becomes a reality, the Panama Railroad will always be a valuable property.[108]

Schiff guessed wrong about the disposition of the railroad. When the New Panama Canal Co. was formed, it was given use of the railroad, but the shares remained in the hands of the liquidator and therefore was an asset of the de Lesseps company bondholders. Schiff continued to show an interest in the railroad.[109]

In the early 1900s Kuhn, Loeb & Co. partners, including Schiff, Paul M. Warburg and Otto H. Kahn, and Harriman, as a client, started speculating in bonds of the de Lesseps company and shares of the New Panama Canal Co. Kuhn, Loeb also purchased and sold French canal securities for J. & W. Seligman & Co. and for Isaac N. Seligman and members of his family. The speculation started in January, 1902, and continued until February, 1906. Some securities were not sold or redeemed until 1909. Most of the securities were bonds. Seligman sold 3,250 shares of New Panama Canal Co. stock. Warburg bought and sold 2,500 shares. As much as $500,000 in French canal securities were held at the top of the speculation.[110]

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[107] Chernow, Ron, *The House of Morgan* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1990), pp. 88-92.
[108] Jacob H. Schiff to Ernest Cassel, April 19, 1889, in Adler, Cyrus, *Jacob H. Schiff: His Life and Letters*, 2 vols. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1928), Vol. I, p. 207.
[109] Schiff to Cassel, April 30, 1897, in Adler, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 207.

In preparing for its defense in Roosevelt's criminal libel prosecutions, the New York *World* learned of the Kuhn, Loeb & Co. activities. In return for an agreement not to publish the information unless it was needed as evidence if the libel case went to trial, the banking firm supplied the *World* with copies of the records of purchases and sales.[111]

When Harriman died in October, 1910, the *World* decided to publish a story about his purchases of bonds of the de Lesseps company. Harriman's purchases started in January, 1902, and totaled $166, 600. The securities were sold or redeemed between 1905 and 1909 for a profit of about $86,400.[112] The *World* story suggested a connection between Harriman's purchases and a meeting the railroad magnate had with Roosevelt in January, 1902, shortly after the Isthmian Canal Commission had reversed its original recommendation of a Nicaragua canal and had endorsed a Panama canal and the purchase of the French canal assets.[113] No evidence was offered that Roosevelt and Harriman discussed an isthmian canal. Further, only $40,800 of Harriman's bond purchases were made during the first half of 1902. Most of the purchases were made in April, 1903, almost 10 months after Congress approved the purchase of the French properties.

The *World* story brought inquiries to Schiff about the circumstances of the Harriman purchases. To a query from the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, he wrote:

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[110] Steigerwalt/Harding Panama Papers, School of Journalism, Southern Illinois University-Carbondale.

[111] George W. Seligman, Attorney for Kuhn, Loeb & Co., to John D. Lindsay, Attorney for the New York *World*, Jan. 18, 1910, Steigerwalt/Harding Panama Papers, School of Journalism, Southern Illinois University-Carbondale.

[112] Steigerwalt/Harding Panama Papers, School of Journalism, Southern Illinois University-Carbondale.

[113] New York *World*, Oct. 17, 1910.

> I have your kind letter of October 19th, in which you ask me about the New York *World* report regarding the Harriman purchase of Panama Bonds. The whole affair is an election campaign story, pure and simple. During the negotiations for the sale of the Panama Canal to the United States, we bought such Bonds on the open market for Harriman and for others; but the suggestion came not from Roosevelt nor for that matter from Washington, but from Paris, through a well-known broker. . .who, at that time, called our attention to the fact that the liquidation value of the Bonds was almost equal to their open market value; and that if the sale of the canal to the United States went through, the Bonds would be worth considerably more.
>
> When the *World* brought this (financial scandal involving the Roosevelt and Taft families) charge, while Roosevelt was still President, suit was brought against it by the Government for libel, and upon that occasion we were called as witnesses, and required to furnish copies of the entries in our books relating to Panama Bonds. It was in this way that the *World* came into possession of the accounts. As you say, the whole amount is only very slight, and it is a great pity that we could not at that time secure a much larger one for Harriman and other friends to whom we supplied the information.[114]

The *World* claimed that Harriman was "tipped off by someone who knew."[115] By including as context Harriman's January, 1902, with Roosevelt and that Cromwell, the New Panama Canal Co. counsel, also was an attorney for Harriman, the newspaper signaled that it believed Harriman based his purchases on inside information. The inference is far-fetched. Undoubtedly Harriman, the head of a transcontinental railroad with a price-fixing agreement with the Panama Railroad,[116] received intelligence on the Panama dispute from highly placed financial and political sources. However, it was public knowledge in January, 1902, that the Isthmian Canal Commission believed Panama was a better canal route.[117] Moreover, it was not until mid-1902 that Congress approved the Panama waterway after a fierce battle. In 1903 Colombia refused to ratify a canal treaty. Thereafter, Panamanians staged a revolution and separated from Colombia. A canal treaty with Panama was not ratified until 1904.

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[114] Schiff to Heinrich Schuler, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Oct. 31, 1910, in Adler, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 207-208.

[115] New York *World*, Oct. 17, 1910.

[116] U.S. Senate, Document No. 429, *Report of Joseph L. Bristow, Special Panama Railroad Commissioner*, 59th Cong., 1st Sess., 1906, pp. 11-13; U.S. House of Representatives, *Investigation of Panama Canal, op. cit.*, pp. 6-8.

Speculation in French canal securities was a risky business in early 1902. The purchases and sales by the Kuhn, Loeb & Co., Seligmans, and Harriman group did not approach the magnitude of profit alleged in the 1908 libels. There is no evidence of improper conduct by anyone in the Roosevelt administration. The best explanation is that of Schiff. There was little downside risk to the purchase of de Lesseps company bonds and the speculative prospect of much gain.

PHILIPPE BUNAU-VARILLA'S HOLDINGS

As an engineer on leave from the elite government *Corps des Ponts et Chaussees*, Philippe Bunau-Varilla was employed and sent to Panama by the de Lesseps company in 1884. Due to resignations and illnesses, he was chief engineer by late 1885 when he was 26 years old. In early 1886 he was struck by yellow fever and forced to return to France.[118] At the request of Charles de Lesseps,[119] son of Ferdinand, Bunau-Varilla returned to Panama as general manager of Artique, Sonderegger et Cie, a canal contractor. The company was awarded the contract to excavate the Culebra Cut, the highest ground on the canal route. Maurice Bunau-Varilla, Philippe's brother, was financial manager and legally owned 50 percent of the company. Auguste Artique and Conrad Sonderegger, two experienced engineers, were the other owners. The contract provided for Artique,

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[117] *New York Evening Post*, Dec. 29, 1901; *New York Herald*, Dec. 30, 1901.

[118] Ameringer, "Philippe Bunau-Varilla and the Panama Canal," *op. cit.*, pp. 40-44.

[119] Bunau-Varilla, *Panama: Its Creation, Destruction and Resurrection*, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

Sonderegger to remove 20 million cubic meters of soil. However, in somewhat over two years of work, only 2.25 million cubic meters were removed. The de Lesseps company paid Artique, Sonderegger more than $6.5 million for the work.[120] Etienne Martin, secretary-general of the de Lesseps company, considered the contract unconscionable and resigned in protest.[121]

An investigator for the French Chamber of Deputies estimated the profit of Artique, Sonderegger at $2.3 million.[122] The profit was described as "far more than the circumstances warranted."[123] The profit may have been higher due to arbitrage between the gold in which the company was paid in Paris and the silver pesos in which workers and suppliers were paid in Panama.[124] As an engineer in the *Corps des Ponts et Chaussees*, Bunau-Varilla was forbidden by law from sharing in the profits of Artique, Sonderegger. However, his brother Maurice had been setting aside 25 percent of the profits for him. Bunau-Varilla insisted there had been no agreement between him and his brother. He claimed:

> I felt I had been wrong not to accept a participation in the profits of the contracting company I had formed and directed toward success. It would have given me the necessary means to make the salvage of the Panama scheme the aim of my life. I accepted, therefore, the offer which my brother. . .had repeatedly and generously made to share with me the profits he largely attributed to my technical knowledge.[125]

Bunau-Varilla also vigorously defended the size of Artique, Sonderegger's profits. Noting what he claimed was the enormous risk in the canal digging and the magnitude of the work, "the absolute value of the profits was very great when the chances happened to turn the right side for the contractor."[126] Whatever the merits of the Culebra Cut contract, it made Bunau-Varilla a wealthy man before he was 30 years-old.

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[120] Ameringer, "Philippe Bunau-Varilla and the Panama Canal," *op. cit.*, p. 50.
[121] Mack, *op. cit.*, p. 326.
[122] The report is in the Bunau-Varilla Papers, Library of Congress.
[123] *Ibid*; Cameron, *op. cit.*, p. 84.
[124] Bunau-Varilla, *Panama: Its Creation, Destruction, and Resurrection, op. cit.*, p. 540.
[125] *Ibid*, pp. 72-73.

Philippe and Maurice Bunau-Varilla were each forced to buy $110,000 in shares of the New Panama Canal Co. or be sued by a court-appointed official for fraudulently obtaining excessive profits from the de Lesseps company.[127] The agreement to purchase the stock contained a provision which said the sole purpose of the purchase was to show faith in a French-built Panama canal.[128] The provision allowed Bunau-Varilla to claim later that the stock purchase was voluntary. In fact, he and his brother had little choice. He also owned de Lesseps company bonds that he received in 1894 in settlement of a debt owed to him. The bonds were valued at $15,000 in 1894[129] and probably at not much more when they were redeemed after the United States purchase of the French properties. Bunau-Varilla bought bonds valued at $20,000 in 1901, which were redeemed at a profit and used to help pay the expenses of his lobbying in the United States.[130] Otherwise, he informed a House of Representatives panel, he had made no "purchase of any Panama securities, either directly or indirectly, either personally or as an associate of any syndicate. The same reserve has been observed by all members of my family as far as I can know."[131]

Bunau-Varilla devoted much time starting in 1899 to promoting the purchase of the French concession and the construction of the Panama waterway by the United States.[132] In

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[126] *Ibid*, p. 540.

[127] Agreement Between M. Lemarquis and Artique, Sonderegger and Company, August 14, 1894, Bunau-Varilla Papers, Library of Congress.

[128] *Ibid*.

[129] U.S. House of Representatives, *Story of Panama*, 1913, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[130] *Ibid*.

[131] *Ibid*.

[132] Of assistance in his pro-Panama endeavors was *Le Matin*, a large Paris daily newspaper. Bunau-Varilla and his brother Maurice, who became editor, purchased control of the newspaper in 1895. The brothers increased their ownership from 50 percent to 85 percent in 1903. Fletcher, "Canal Site Diplomacy," *op. cit.*, p. 152, quoting Bunau-Varilla Papers. In 1919 Bunau-Varilla told Clarence Barron, publisher of the *Wall Street Journal*, that he owned 40 percent and Maurice owned 60 percent. At that time the newspaper

1903 he conspired with Panama rebels to successfully separate Panama from Colombia and become Panama's first ambassador to the United States. One of his contributions was to provide $100,000 to finance the revolution.[133] In part, although he never admitted it, Bunau-Varilla's motivation was financial in lobbying the United States to buy the French canal assets. He received $143,000 for his New Panama Canal Co. stock. His brother Maurice, who helped pay for the lobbying activities,[134] gained the same sum. While Bunau-Varilla has denied that his lobbying was done on behalf of anyone, scholars have speculated that at least some of his expenses might have been paid by other ex-de Lesseps company executives, bankers and contractors.[135]

At times Bunau-Varilla tended to equate lofty motives with his personal best interests. Nevertheless, there was sincerity in his belief that he fought his battles because an American-built canal across Panama "would vindicate the engineering genius of his countrymen."[136] His personal correspondence and other writings are consistent with that view.

ACTIVITIES OF WILLIAM NELSON CROMWELL

By the time he became counsel for the Panama Railroad in 1894, William Nelson Cromwell already was a shrewd and wealthy New York lawyer. The publicist Ivy Lee described him as one of "the

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was earning $300,000 annually. Pound, Arthur, and Samuel Taylor Moore (eds.), *They Told Barron: Conversations of an American Pepys in Wall Street* (New York: Harper & Row, 1930), p. 311. The newspaper had a circulation of 285,000 copies daily in 1902. By 1913 circulation was one million copies daily. "Maurice Bunau-Varilla," in *Dictionnaire de Biographie Francaise*, Vol. II (Paris: Libraire Letouzey, 1956).

[133] U.S. House of Representatives, *Story of Panama*, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-40. William Nelson Cromwell provided collateral for a $100,000 loan from Bowling Green Trust Co. of New York that was used to repay Bunau-Varilla. Curtis, William J., *Memoirs* (Portland, Me.: Mosher Press, 1928), p. 103.

[134] Ameringer, "Philippe Bunau-Varilla and the Panama Canal," *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 130, 241..

[135] *Ibid*, p. 241; McCullough, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-289.

[136] Miner, Dwight Carroll, *The Fight for the Panama Route* (New York: Octagon Books, 1971), p. 77. While in his mid-50s, Bunau-Varilla volunteered for military service in World War I and lost a leg at Verdun.

most highly paid brain-worker(s) in the world."[137] As one of the founding lawyers of United States Steel Co.,[138] he received $2 million in stock for which he paid $250,000. When the company paid $750,000 in special dividends, the cost of the stock was covered threefold.[139] In 1896 he was appointed American counsel of the New Panama Canal Co. and given the task of persuading the United States not to build a Nicaraguan canal. In 1898, after the Spanish-American War solidified American public opinion on the necessity of an American-built canal, Cromwell's mission became to convince the United States to build the waterway across Panama and to buy the French canal company properties.[140]

Cromwell was a legal strategist with influence in the financial and political power circles of turn-of-the-century America. As he was to inform his French clients, Sullivan & Cromwell had:

> found itself placed in intimate relations, susceptible of being used to advantage, with men possessing influence and power in all circles and almost everywhere in the United States; that not only have members of the firm established close and intimate professional relations with their most distinguished colleagues throughout the United States, but they have also come to know, and be in a position to influence, a considerable number of public men in political life, in financial circles, and in the press, and all these influences and relations were of great and sometimes decisive utility, and of valuable assistance in the performance of their professional duties in the Panama matter.[141]

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[137] Lee, Ivy, "The Modern Lawyer," *World's Work*, June, 1904, p. 4880. Cromwell was an enigmatic person. He destroyed most of his Panama papers during his lifetime. The remainder were destroyed by John Foster Dulles, his executor. Dulles to Edward H. Green, June 23, 1954, John Foster Dulles Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Library, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.

[138] *Ibid*, p. 4874.

[139] Lisagor, Nancy, and Frank Lipsius, *A Law Unto Itself: The Untold Story of the Law Firm Sullivan & Cromwell* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1988), p. 35. William J. Curtis, a partner of Cromwell, seved as president of the steel company for a month while the combine was being formed.

[140] U.S. House of Representatives, *Story of Panama*, 1913, *op. cit.*, pp. 218-220.

[141] *Ibid*, p. 207. The *Story of Panama* published a brief Sullivan & Cromwell submitted to arbitrators after the New Panama Canal Co. claimed the bill the firm submitted was too high.

Cromwell and Bunau-Varilla formed the lobby that persuaded Congress and the Roosevelt administration to adopt the Panama route.[142] The intervention of William J. Curtis, the law partner of Cromwell, with House Speaker Thomas B. Reed was the key to the creation of the Isthmian Canal Commission in 1899. Curtis wrote the legislation that established the body.[143] Cromwell established a three-member press bureau that flooded the nation's newspapers and magazines with pro-Panama articles.[144] By the end of 1901, opinion among scientific and engineering journals[145] and among newspapers[146] had taken a pro-Panama tilt. Cromwell was fired by the French canal company in mid-1901 because of his candid assessment of the price that the United States would pay for the company's properties.[147] He was rehired in January, 1902, after the company changed management and offered the assets to the United States for $40 million.[148] Cromwell and Bunau-Varilla cooperated in the lobbying effort that culminated in the United States approving the Panama route in mid-1902, Cromwell continued to play a key role in events that resulted in the purchase of the canal assets in 1904.[149]

Cromwell received an annual retainer of $10,000 for the period before mid-1901 when he was fired. Total compensation from the canal company to that time was $66,443.[150] The figure does not include payments for services for the Panama Railroad. Upon his reinstatement he was informed that "settlement of former accounts and remuneration for your future services will be determined sovereignly by the board of directors of Compagne Nouvelle de Panama."[151] He was assured the directors would "know how to recognize in an equitable manner the services you will have rendered it."[152] Cromwell submitted a bill for $832,449 that included a request for reimbursement of a contribution of $60,000 made to the 1900 Republican campaign. The company rejected the bill. Both sides agreed to arbitration. In 1907 arbitrators awarded Cromwell $228,283.[153] The arbitrators assured Sullivan & Cromwell the "fame of their success" would bring forth "an increase of reputation, an increase in their clientele."[154]

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[142] Ameringer, "The Panama Canal Lobby of Philippe Bunau-Varilla and William Nelson Cromwell," *op. cit.*

[143] Curtis, *Memoirs*, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 92; U.S. House of Representatives, 1913 *Story of Panama*, 1913, *op. cit.*, p.227; Miner, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[144] U.S. House of Representatives, *Story of Panama*, 1913, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-221.

[145] Parks, E. Taylor, *Colombia and the United States 1765-1934* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1935), p. 384.

[146] Richards Jr., Alfred Charles, "The Panama Canal in American National Consciousness," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Boston University, 1969., p. 106-115, 139.

[147] U.S. House of Representatives, *Story of Panama*, 1913, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-242.

[148] *Ibid*, pp. 22, 245.

[149] U.S. Senate, Document No. 285, *General Conveyance by the New Panama Canal Co., Etc.*, Senate Documents, #4914, 58th Cong., 2d Sess., 1906.

[150] Harding, Earl, *The Untold Story of Panama* (New York: Athens Press, 1959), pp. 94-95.

The success was a mixed blessing for Cromwell. Many proponents of the Nicaragua canal were convinced that the Panama Canal lobby had engaged in financial misconduct. No significant evidence was adduced to support the allegation, but Cromwell had to spend time before a congressional investigating committee. He invoked the attorney-client privilege in refusing to answer many questions and that further fueled suspicions.[155] Moreover, Cromwell was at the center of the 1908 libels that an American syndicate had profited from the purchase of the French properties. Curtis, the Cromwell partner, believed his firm was "very inadequately paid" and he "never ceased to regret our identification with the business, which did not result in any reward commensurate with the cost, time, labor, strength and energy involved, and which possibly affected our reputation in the minds of strangers."[156] Even critical writers called the fee "paltry."[157]

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[151] U.S. House of Representatives, *Story of Panama*, 1913, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

[152] *Ibid*, p. 246.

[153] *Ibid*, pp. 158, 508; Harding, *op. cit.*, p. 94. On the board of arbitrators was Alexandre Ribot, a future French premier. The attorney representing Sullivan & Cromwell was Raymond Poincare, a future president of France.

[154] Harding, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

[155] U.S. Senate, Document No. 457, *Refusal of William Nelson Cromwell to Answer Certain Questions, Etc.*, 59th Cong., 2d Sess., 1906; U.S. Senate, Document No. 401, Committee on Interoceanic Canals, *Hearings: An Investigation on Matters Relating to the Panama Canal, Etc.*, 59th Cong., 2d Sess., 1907/

CONCLUSIONS

The record of *"But Who Got the Money?"* can be put together. There is no certainty that other Americans did not speculate in French canal securities. One can conclude that there was no syndicate that purchased any significant amount of the canal securities. There is no evidence that anyone profited corruptly due to receiving intelligence from members of the Roosevelt administration about the purchase of the canal company's assets. The House of Seligman stood to gain the most if the United States decided to build a canal across Panama. It was a failure of American journalism not to have identified the banking firm. Its holdings through its Paris branch were on the public record in France. Often Bunau-Varilla was identified as a stockholder of the canal company, but his holdings were not described with precision. Those holdings also were on the public record. Were it not for the libel prosecution, it is doubtful the Kuhn, Loeb & Co. information would have surfaced. There was little significance in the Kuhn, Loeb activities, which started after the die was cast for Panama in Washington.

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[156] Curtis, *Memoirs*, *op. cit.*, p. 109.
[157] Lisagor, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

African-American Photo Coverage in Four U.S. Newspapers, 1937-1990

By

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After the Watts riots in Los Angeles in 1965, political and religious leaders pointed an accusatory finger at the nation's media organizations for their stereotypical portrayals of African-Americans. Many critics thought that presenting African-Americans only as train porters, sports heroes, entertainers or criminals contributed to the frustration that led to the violence. Typical of the views at the time was Urban League director Whitney Young. He commented that African-American pictorial coverage in newspapers and magazines "... was awful, is better, and has to get better."[1]

Twenty-seven years after the Watts neighborhood violence, South Los Angeles was once again in the center of a tragic firestorm. Much has been written about the causes for the riots following the verdict of the four Los Angeles policemen involved in the arrest of Rodney King. Political and religious leaders, as in the earlier era, have spoken eloquently on the causes and possible solutions to the man-made catastrophe. Once again the media's coverage of African-Americans is being analyzed and criticized.

Is African-American pictorial coverage getting better? Looking at the studies concerned with African-American pictorial coverage in magazines and newspapers produces mixed conclusions. In a 1964 study of *Look* magazine by Verdelle Lambert, it was found that in pictures and text "dealing with the American Negro," there was an increase in non-racial references to African-Americans. Lambert concluded that such a finding was evidence that the editors of *Look* were treating African-Americans not as racial stereotypes but as members of society without regards to race.[2] Carolyn Martindale in her 1986 book, *The White Press and Black America*, looked at African-American portrayals in stories, columns, letters to the editor, and pictures within the pages of 245 total issues for *The New York Times*, the *Boston Globe*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Atlanta Constitution*. She concluded that editors have shown "an increased awareness of blacks, and, perhaps, a desire to cover them more extensively and realistically than ... in the past."[3] Paul Lester and Ron Smith in a recent study of the images within the pages of *Life*, *Newsweek* and *Time* magazines from 1937 until 1988 concluded that percentages of African-American visibility have increased over the years and that the increase can be attributed to dramatic rises in everyday life, prominent person and advertisement subject categories rather than the racial stereotypes of crime, sports and entertainment subject categories.[4] Yet Alice Sentman looked at African-American pictorial coverage in *Life* magazine from 1937 until 1972 and concluded that African-Americans were sparsely represented within the pages of the magazine. Such a finding led Sentman to conclude that *Life* was not providing "its mass audience an opportunity for exposure to the everyday life of black America."[5]

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[1] "Commercials Crossing the Color Line," *Time*, October 25, 1968, p. 83.

[2] Verdelle Lambert, "Negro Exposure in Look's Editorial Content," *Journalism Quarterly*, 42:657-659 (Autumn 1964).

[3] Carolyn Martindale, *The White Press and Black America* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 1-4, 82.

All of the recent studies of African-American pictorial coverage within the pages of U.S. magazines and newspapers conclude that the number of images has increased over time. Researcher John Wheatley has noted that African-American percentages should mimic the population figure if one is to conclude that image selections were not a result of racial selection.[6] In some studies the percentages exceed the overall population percentage while in others the figure is much lower. For example, Lester and Smith found that *Life* magazine exceeded the 11% African-American U.S. population percentage, but that *Newsweek* and *Time* did not. It seems reasonable to conclude that overall pictorial coverage of African-Americans should at least match the U.S. population figure. Furthermore, within larger urban areas, the African-American population may be as high as 60%. When a publication is restricted to a specific urban area, the overall picture percentage should be higher than the general population percentage. The questions remain whether percentages have risen high enough to be representative of the African-American population and, more importantly, whether the content of those images continue the trend toward non-racial references or further reinforce age-old stereotypes. There is no advantage in publishing a large percentage of African-Americans if those images are mostly crime, sports and entertainment subjects.

Martindale and Lester and Smith divided their analyses into three distinct time periods: the pre-civil rights era, the civil rights era, and the modern era. Stereotypical images were most present during the per-civil rights era where African-Americans were most often portrayed as "either musical, primitive, amusing, or religious, or as violent and criminal; occupationally, they were pictured as either servants, athletes, or entertainers, or as unemployed."[7] If African-Americans were included as models in advertisements, for example, they were always portrayed as servants fetching a bottle of expensive liquor or porters ready to stow baggage for a long train trip. This period is also marked by low overall percentages. A dramatic shift in pictorial coverage occurred during the civil rights era. Although many more African-Americans were pictured, more often the images were related to criminal activities and social problems as a result of the protests and riots in the streets in several U.S. urban areas. During this same period, advertising use of African-Americans, as noted by Lester and Smith, dramatically decreased probably because advertisers did not want their products associated with the activism of the time. After the worst rioting, the Kerner Commission's report on civil disorders of 1968 concluded with African-American leaders' complaints that the media were generally ignoring their everyday concerns.[8] The post-civil rights era brought advances in African-American political aspirations and a rise in the coverage of everyday life activities not guided by racial backgrounds. However, stock portrayals of African-Americans as sports and entertainment personalities were on the rise compared with previous eras.

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[4] Paul Lester and Ron Smith, "African-American Photo Coverage in *Life*, *Newsweek*, and *Time*, 1937-1988," *Journalism Quarterly*, 67:136 (Spring 1990).

[5] Alice Sentman, "Black and White: Disparity in Coverage by *Life* Magazine from 1937 to 1972," *Journalism Quarterly*, 60:501-508 (Autumn 1983).

[6] John Wheatley, "The Use of Black Models in Advertising," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 8:391 (August 1971).

Although African-Americans are more regularly seen within the pages of magazines and newspapers, an important consideration is the content of that coverage. Lester and Smith found in their magazine study that the subject categories of crime, sports and entertainment have increased to percentages higher than the population percentage. Such a result, the researchers concluded, indicated a reliance on stereotypical coverage. What has not been addressed by recent studies is whether large, urban-based newspapers over a long period of time have shown the same trends as with the results in Lester and Smith's study.

This research attempts to address five hypotheses about the African-American pictorial coverage within the pages of four major U.S. newspapers:

1. Overall, the African-American coverage will increase over time for all four newspapers,

2. The African-American coverage will show similar, general patterns in their content categories for all four newspapers,

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[7] Thomas Pettigrew, "Complexity and Change in American Racial Patterns: A Social Psychological View," *Daedalus*, 94:998 (Fall 1965).

[8] *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (New York:Bantam, 1968), p. 383.

3. Stereotypical images will decrease throughout the years studied,

4. Race-blind images, special interest pictures, and advertising visuals will increase for the years studied, and

5. The four newspapers will show similar trends in the content categories as the magazines used in Lester and Smith's study.

Method

A content analysis of the pictorial treatment of African-Americans was performed for all Monday-Friday issues, for the months March, June, September, and December, for the years, 1937, 1942, 1947, 1952, 1957, 1962, 1967, 1972, 1978, 1983 and 1990, and for *The New York Times*, The *Chicago Tribune*, The *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, and the *San Francisco Chronicle*. The four newspapers were selected because of their national and regional prominence, their large circulations, and because all are located within cities with large, yet varying, percentages of African-American populations. The years studied were chosen to coincide with the Lester and Smith study on the pictorial coverage of African-Americans in three U.S. magazines. To make the study more current, 1990 results were added for each newspaper in order to look at the more recent conditions.

From preliminary samples it was concluded that a small sample of issues would result in an unfair representation of African-American coverage. Throughout the year, pictures of African-Americans are distributed in various proportions. Clustering of images occurs during significant news or sporting events. If a random sample was taken, the risk of missing important instances of African-American coverage would be high. Therefore, hundreds of newspaper issues had to be sampled. The Monday through Friday issues were chosen in order to isolate the everyday coverage of African-Americans as seen by the average reader.

Pictorial evidence of the visibility of African-Americans within the pages of U.S. newspapers is best studied by the content analysis methodology. Over the years there has been a steady body of work to support the conclusion that photographs have the power to immediately impact readers' perception and that content analysis of those pictures is the best methodology for study.[9] In separate studies Woodburn,

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[9] See Michael D. Sherer, "Vietnam War Photos and Public Opinion," *Journalism Quarterly*, 66:391-392 (Summer 1989) for a bibliographies on the informational and/or emotional

Miller and Blackwood have demonstrated that readers often obtain their first impressions about a story by looking first at the photograph on the page.[10] If African-Americans have been under-represented or used in stereotypical portrayals, the pictorial evidence will show those facts clearly. Pictures show, according to Stempel, "the most clearcut evidence of visibility or lack of it."[11]

The unit of analysis for this study was the picture. Lester and Smith showed in their study that isolating the human figure photographs, eliminating still-lifes and scenics without people, is a much more accurate means for measuring African-American percentages. All human figure photographs were counted while pictures with African-Americans were divided into specific subject categories. Human figure photographs are defined as having people within the frame of the image. Still-lifes or scenics without people were not included in the analysis. Graphic illustrations were not included in the picture count. Pictures that only showed a subject's hands or feet were not included. Coverage of foreign persons of African descent was not included. If a newspaper printed several zoned editions, particularly prevalent with the *Times-Picayune*, the metro or city-wide edition was used in the analysis.

The subject categories were crime, accident, sports, war-related images, social news, human interest, politics, business, social problems, science, education, health, entertainment, religion, and advertisements.[12] The 15 categories were defined as.

1) *Crime.* Any police coverage, the accused, or victims within a crime-related picture.

2) *Accident.* Either man-made or a natural disaster.

3) *Sports.* Any sports-related feature or action picture.

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power of pictures and studies using content analysis to answer questions about news photography.

[10] Bert Woodburn, "Reader Interest in Newspaper Pictures," *Journalism Quarterly*, 24:197 (Autumn 1947), Susan Miller, "The Content of News Photos: Women's and Men's Roles," *Journalism Quarterly*, 52:72 (Spring 1975), and Roy Blackwood, "The Content of News Photos: Roles Portrayed by Men and Women," *Journalism Quarterly*, 60:711 (Winter 1983).

[11] Guido Stempel, "Visibility of Blacks in News and News-Picture Magazines," *Journalism Quarterly*, 48:338-339 (Summer 1971).

[12] Many of the content categories and descriptions were originally obtained from Alice Sentman's study.

[11] With only 23 pictures for the whole pre-civil rights era, percentage figures for that time period are misleading and not useful.

4) *War-Related Images*. Any picture where the violent acts of war are depicted or where persons are preparing for or engaged in a war-related activity.

5) *Social News*. Any image that details the events of high society. May also include wedding and anniversary pictures.

6) *Human Interest*. A photograph where everyday life activities are featured that show no regard to racial considerations. Fashion photography and obituaries also fit in this category.

7) *Politics*. Any politician or a person running for office.

8) *Business*. Money matters and business activities.

9) *Social Problems*. Social issues that affect African-Americans directly.

10) *Science*. Scientific breakthroughs, information, or news about a scientist.

11) *Education*. Any school-related picture.

12) *Health*. Pictorial coverage related to individual or environmental health.

13) *Entertainment*. Any celebrity featured in a photograph.

14) *Religion*. A picture that gives details about a religious service or individual.

15) *Advertisement*. Any non-editorial picture used to sell a product or service.

To coincide with the Martindale and Lester and Smith studies, the 15 subject categories were combined into four main subject areas and for three main time periods. The four main subject areas included stereotypical images (crime, sports and entertainment), race-blind images (accident, war, human interest, science, and religion), special interest to African-Americans (society news, politics, business, social problems, education, and health), and advertising images. The three time periods isolated in this study were the pre-civil rights era (1937 - 1952), the civil rights era (1957 - 1972), and the modern era (1978 - 1990).

Four graduate student coders were each assigned a newspaper.[13] The author also performed some of the coding. Following the coding, an assistant coded a subset of the same images (25 percent of the total) using the same categories as a measure of intercoder reliability. Intercoder reliability based on the Holsti formula was .87 for all human figure images and .74 for the African-American subject categories.

Findings

After content coders looked at a total of 3,292 issues for the four newspapers and found 282,536 human figure pictures and 16,008 African-American images, they took a month off to rest their eyes before starting the data analysis. The five hypotheses stated previously showed mixed results [See Tables 1 - 5].

1. Overall, the African-American coverage will increase over time for all four newspapers.

African-American picture coverage did indeed rise over the years studied. The New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, for example had the most dramatic record of publication compared with the other newspapers as there were only 23 pictures published of African-American content out of the entire 1937 - 1952 era. Martindale explains that the low number came about because up until the early 1950s the *Picayune* had a rule that African-Americans were not to appear in any published photograph. "Photos of street scenes were scrupulously scanned by picture editors and every perceivably black face was either excised by scissors or erased by air brush," reported a writer for the paper.[14] Obviously, the African-American percentage had to get better and to the editors' credit, the modern era showed the second highest overall African-American percentage.

2. The African-American coverage will show similar, general patterns in their content categories for all four newspapers.

Despite some spot aberrations, the four newspapers were generally in agreement when it came to the content categories. The *Chicago Tribune*, however, emphasizes sports coverage much more than the other newspapers. The *Times-Picayune*, with all the debutante and Mardi Gras functions showed a dramatic rise in society news photographs. Advertising percentages were lower in Chicago and San Francisco. All of the other content categories retained similar patterns between the four newspapers.

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[13] The author would like to take this opportunity to thank Linda Combs, John Gendall, Mary Ann Clayton, Matina Vourakis and Leslie Snyder for their help in coding the large number of images.

[14] Martindale, p. 55.

3. Stereotypical images will decrease throughout the years studied.

Overall the trend has been for all four newspapers to show more, not less stereotypical images. Because of their emphasis on sports coverage, Chicago and San Francisco had higher stereotypical image percentages than the other two newspapers. However, as crime-related images have slowed or decreased for the other newspapers, *The New York Times* has steadily increased its coverage.

4. Race-blind images, special interest pictures, and advertising visuals will increase for the years studied.

Race-blind images -- those pictures that are not about African-Americans and only happen to have their images in the photographic frame -- generally showed peaks during the civil rights era and a level during the modern era that often was below the pre-civil rights time period. Human interest pictures, sometimes referred to as feature pictures, particularly for Chicago and San Francisco, followed that pattern. Human interest images showed a slight increase for New York and New Orleans since 1957. Images devoted to the issues and concerns that are special to African-Americans have generally increased for all newspapers over the years with the high mark during the civil rights era. When isolating the social problems category, New York and San Francisco increased their coverage during the 1957 - 1972 time period. New Orleans and Chicago have remained low with Chicago consistently showing percentages much below the other newspapers. Generally, African-Americans used as models in advertising images have increased over the years studied for the four newspapers. San Francisco has shown the most dramatic and continued rise in African-American advertising pictures. *The New York Times* demonstrated a dramatic decrease during the modern era while Chicago has consistently maintained lower percentages. Unlike the magazines studied by Lester and Smith, there was not a dip in advertising percentages during the turbulent civil rights era.

5. The four newspapers will show similar trends in the content categories as the magazines used in Lester and Smith's study.

Finally, when compared with the three magazines in Lester and Smith's study [Table 1], two glaring differences are seen. Sports coverage is much more extensive and important to the newspapers than for the magazines and social problems get almost no coverage when compared with the high magazine percentage.

Results

Numbers never tell the whole story. After looking at several issues for each newspaper for each time period, it is encouraging to notice a remarkable shift in the content of many of the images. During the pre-civil rights era, a time when racism probably factored into editorial decisions, human interest pictures were usually high. But that high percentage should not be held as an achievement because most of the images showed African-Americans as background servants and lazy or silly simpletons. Advertising images never showed African-Americans as using the products -- they were actors cast as servants and porters for Euro-American product users. Political, business, social problems, educational, and health issues received little if any treatment. Sporting events were featured but only to highlight an upcoming fight or to give details of a previous match. Given the low overall percentage for this era, African-Americans were effectively segregated from the pages of all four newspapers.

African-Americans learned to make noise and to be heard during the civil rights era. Because of the non-violent and violent actions by various African-American groups, press coverage of their news events and social conditions dramatically increased. To its credit, New Orleans had a high social problems percentage. As might be expected, criminal news stories rose during this period, but so did social news, politics, business, educational and health issues. Although many of the old stereotypes were still used for advertising images, more often African-Americans were seen using the products they advertised -- a clear indication that agencies and publishers were recognizing the economic resources of African-Americans and their more equal role in society.

The modern era is marked by a further rise in the overall African-American percentage with the number of African-American pictures increasing for each subject category. Gone are the negative racial stereotypes promoted by human interest and advertising images. African-Americans, when seen in most subject categories, are equal, productive members of society. However, many times sports-related photographs were the only pictures published for an entire issue. Such an emphasis on this content category, particularly in Chicago and San Francisco communicates the hidden message that African-Americans are only valued for their agility and strength during sporting events.

Overall, then, the number of African-American pictures has increased dramatically over the years. Yet stereotypical images are high and news of special interest to African-Americans is low.

Results for each newspaper

The New York Times -- Table 2 Out of the four newspapers during the modern era, *The New York Times* has the lowest African-American overall percentage. However, those 1,837 pictures are distributed between the 15 subject categories at a rate that is similar to the combined percentages for all four newspapers. Given the attention sports and entertainment personalities get from the public, it is probably unrealistic to expect that the stereotypical category be less than 50 percent. Therefore, *The Times*, with its reputation for fair and objective reporting, perhaps serves as a model for the other newspapers in its story coverage.

The Chicago Tribune -- Table 3 Because the *Chicago Tribune* emphasizes sports activities so heavily, the other categories have reduced percentages. Race-blind, special interest and advertising images are the lowest out of the four newspapers. The percentage given to social problems is also the lowest in this study. Such a finding negates the *Tribune*'s highest African-American overall percentage of 12.9 when most of those pictures are stereotypical. Shockingly, the 1990 statistics are much worse than the modern era's combined percentages as sports subjects alone get 65 percent and advertising images only represent 6.1 percent of the total.

The Times-Picayune -- Table 4 From a dismal performance where African-Americans were purposely excluded from the pages of the newspaper,[15] to a record in the modern era that is actually better than the percentages represented by *The New York Times*, the editors of the *Picayune* should be congratulated for their continued progress. In fact, the 1990 figures are consistent with the modern era's combined percentages indicating that the newspaper's totals are not a fluke. With the highest percentage of African-Americans living in the New Orleans urban area than any of the other newspapers, one would naturally expect better African-American representations than with the other newspapers. The only bald spot in the *Picayune*'s coverage, and it is common with all the newspapers in this study, is the omission of African-Americans involved with scientific issues or breakthroughs. Political and business subjects should probably be higher given the large African-American population in New Orleans. But overall, the *Times-Picayune* serves as an example of a newspaper that has left its racist past behind.

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[15] With only 23 pictures for the whole pre-civil rights era, percentage figures for that time period are misleading and not useful.

San Francisco Chronicle -- Table 5 The results from San Francisco are mixed. Although race-blind, special interest and advertising images are fairly well represented, there is a high emphasis on stereotypical images in both sports and entertainment categories. For 1990 the figures are not encouraging as crime, sports, and entertainment subjects make up 58.6 percent of the total. With a slight shift away from sports content matter, however, San Francisco can be more in line with the other newspapers.

Conclusions

Using Whitney Young's 1968 statement as a benchmark, it is clear that African-American pictorial coverage in the four U.S. daily newspapers used in this study is slightly better. That is not to say that there still is progress to be made.

Given the lack of economic and educational opportunities for many African-Americans today, it is unfortunate that the most common outlet for African-American pictures is crime, sports, and entertainment subjects. Lester and Smith in their study of *Life*, *Newsweek* and *Time* magazines found combined percentages for the social problem category higher than sports pictures. Such is the model that newspapers should strive toward. Further recommendations include:

- Similar research should be conducted on medium-sized and small-town newspapers to see if subject percentages are similar to the large dailies in this study,

- Researchers should continue to monitor every 5 years the percentage of these large newspapers to check upon continued progress,

- Editors should make a concerted effort to decrease the number of sports pictures and increase the number of pictures having to do with social problems and other issues of concern for African-Americans and consequently, all Americans,

- Editors should pay more attention to the population percentages within their circulation areas and try to achieve higher minority picture percentages accordingly,

- Newspaper personnel directors should seek more minority hirings for their newsrooms in order to become sensitive to racial stereotypes and stories that shed light on African-American social problems, and

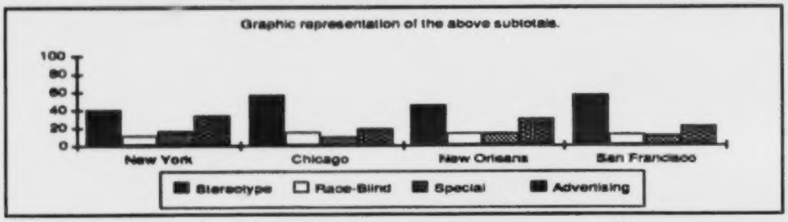
- Universities should continue to be sensitive to making minority appointments, promoting intercultural awareness and fairness, and recruiting students from minority high schools.

Although the number of African-American pictures has dramatically increased since the era of the Watts riots, the newspapers featured in this study, for the most part, still concentrate their pictorial coverage of African-Americans on stereotypical portrayals. Perhaps the recent riots in Los Angeles can help to focus attention on solutions to this serious inequality.

Table 1: Percentage totals for all newspapers and each newspaper combined and three magazines

	All Newspapers Combined 1937 - 1990	New York Combined 1937 - 1990	Chicago Combined 1937 - 1990	New Orleans Combined 1937 - 1990	San Francisco Combined 1937 - 1990
All Pictures	282,536	73,807	85,126	65,922	57,681
African-Amer Pics	16,008	3,374	5,289	3,483	3,862
African-Amer %	**5.7**(3.7)^	**4.6**	**6.2**	**5.3**	**6.7**
Number of Issues	3,726	937	906*	935	936
A-A Pics per Issue	4.3	3.6	5.8	3.7	4.1
Issues w/o A-As	1,198	260	260	440	238
Stereotypical Images					
Crime	4.1 (7.5)	5.2	3.7	4.6	3.4
Sports	38.6 (16.5)	29.5	47.3	31.4	41.3
Entertainment	7.2 (13.8)	4.8	4.6	8.4	11.6
Subtotal	**49.9**	**39.5**	**55.6**	**44.4**	**56.3**
Race-Blind Images					
Accident	0.7	0.4	0.5	1.4	0.7
War	0.5	0.9	0.3	0.6	0.4
Human Interest	11.2(12.3)	9.2	13.5	9.9	10.8
Science	0.2	0.02	0.2	0.0	0.4
Religion	0.6	0.2	0.7	0.9	0.4
Subtotal	**13.2**	**10.7**	**15.2**	**12.8**	**12.7**
Special Interest Images					
Social News	1.0	0.2	0.3	3.6	0.4
Politics	3.4	3.9	4.0	2.5	2.8
Business	1.0	1.3	1.1	0.6	0.8
Social Problems	3.1(24.1)	4.9	1.6	3.0	3.8
Education	3.2	5.2	2.8	3.0	2.2
Health	0.4	0.5	0.3	0.6	0.3
Subtotal	**12.1**	**16.0**	**10.1**	**13.3**	**10.3**
Advertising Images	**24.4**(29.5)	**33.6**	**18.4**	**29.1**	**20.3**

**March, 1942 and December, 1978 were not available.*
Total percentages may add to more or less than 100 due to rounding.
^Figures in parentheses represent combined percentages for Life, Newsweek *and* Time *magazines as represented by Lester and Smith's study.*


Graphic representation of the above subtotals.

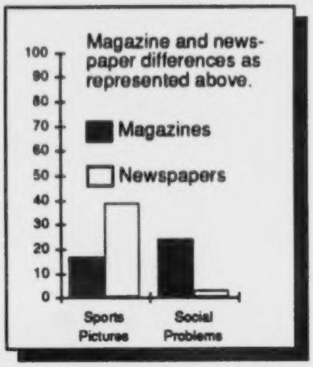
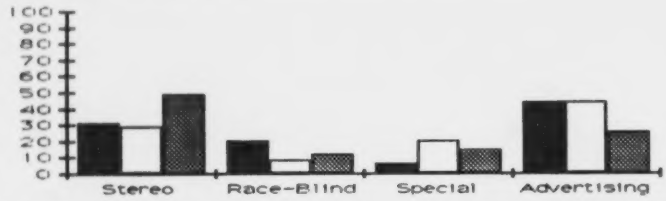

Magazine and newspaper differences as represented above.

Table 2: Percentage totals for *The New York Times*

	Pre-Civil Rights Era 1937 - 1952	**Civil Rights Era** 1957 - 1972	**Modern Era** 1978 - 1990
All Pictures	21,973	28,708	23,126
African-Amer Pics	238	1,294	1,837
African-Amer %	**1.1**	**4.5**	**7.9**
Number of Issues	359	339	239*
A-A Pics per Issue	0.6	3.8	7.7
Issues w/o A-As	203	57	0
Stereotypical Images			
Crime	1.3	3.6	6.8
Sports	28.6	22.3	34.8
Entertainment	0.8	2.8	6.7
Subtotal	**30.7**	**28.7**	**48.3**
Race-Blind Images			
Accident	0	0.2	0.6
War	3.8	0.2	1.0
Human Interest	15.5	7.4	9.6
Science	0	0	0.1
Religion	0.4	0.1	0.3
Subtotal	**19.7**	**7.9**	**11.6**
Special Interest Images			
Social News	0	0.4	0.1
Politics	0.8	2.8	5.1
Business	0.8	0.9	1.7
Social Problems	0.8	7.8	3.3
Education	2.1	7.8	3.8
Health	1.3	0.2	0.5
Subtotal	**5.8**	**19.9**	**14.5**
Advertising Images	**43.7**	**43.7**	**25.4**

**September, 1978 was not available because of a press strike.*
Total percentages may add to more or less than 100 due to rounding.



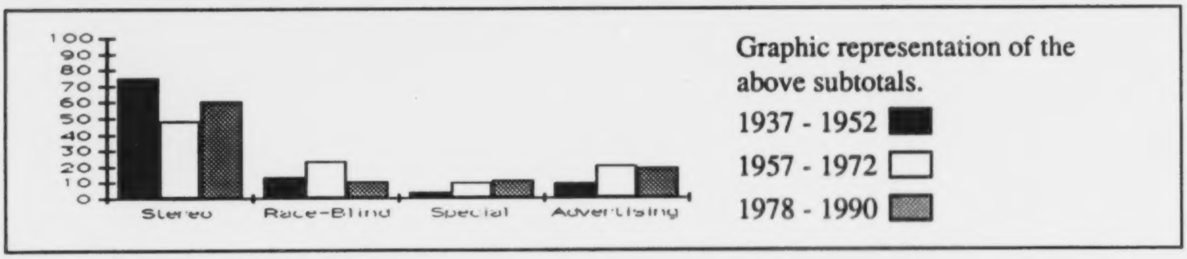
Graphic representation of the above subtotals.

1937 - 1952 ■
1957 - 1972 □
1978 - 1990 ▨

Table 3: Percentage totals for the *Chicago Tribune*

	Pre-Civil Rights Era 1937 - 1952	Civil Rights Era 1957 - 1972	Modern Era 1978 - 1990
All Pictures	23,247	39,957	21,922
African-Amer Pics	251	2,179	2,825
African-Amer %	**1.1**	**5.5**	**12.9**
Number of Issues	329*	340	237*
A-A Pics per Issue	0.8	6.4	11.9
Issues w/o A-As	213	47	0
Stereotypical Images			
Crime	5.2	4.0	3.4
Sports	65.3	40.4	51.6
Entertainment	4.4	3.8	5.3
Subtotal	**74.9**	**48.2**	**60.3**
Race-Blind Images			
Accident	0	0	1.0
War	0	0	0.5
Human Interest	12.4	21.1	7.9
Science	0	0	0.4
Religion	0.4	1.3	0.2
Subtotal	**12.8**	**22.4**	**10.0**
Special Interest Images			
Social News	0.4	0.7	0
Politics	1.2	3.5	4.7
Business	1.6	0.1	1.8
Social Problems	0	1.3	1.9
Education	0.4	4.1	2.1
Health	0	0	0.5
Subtotal	**3.6**	**9.7**	**11.0**
Advertising Images	**8.8**	**19.7**	**18.5**

**March, 1942 and December, 1978 were not available.*
Total percentages may add to more or less than 100 due to rounding.

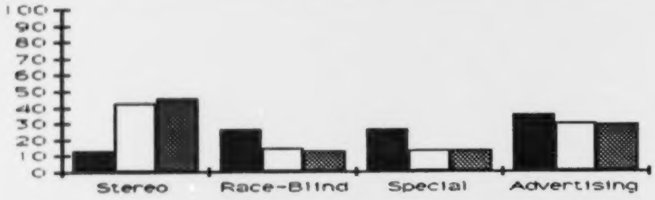


Graphic representation of the above subtotals.

Table 4: Percentage totals for the *Times-Picayune*

	Pre-Civil Rights Era 1937 - 1952	**Civil Rights Era** 1957 - 1972	**Modern Era** 1978 - 1990
All Pictures	16,958	26,721	22,243
African-Amer Pics	23	891	2,554
African-Amer %	**0.1**	**3.3**	**11.6**
Number of Issues	345	341	249
A-A Pics per Issue	0.06	2.6	10.3
Issues w/o A-As	324	116	0
Stereotypical Images			
Crime	0	4.3	4.8
Sports	4.3	36.0	30.2
Entertainment	8.7	2.3	10.5
Subtotal	**13.0**	**42.6**	**45.5**
Race-Blind Images			
Accident	8.7	1.7	1.3
War	4.3	1.5	0.3
Human Interest	8.7	9.7	10.1
Science	0	0	0
Religion	4.3	1.7	0.7
Subtotal	**26.0**	**14.6**	**12.4**
Special Interest Images			
Social News	0	2.1	4.1
Politics	0	2.2	2.6
Business	17.4	0.7	0.5
Social Problems	8.7	3.5	2.8
Education	0	3.8	2.6
Health	0	0.9	0.6
Subtotal	**26.1**	**13.2**	**13.2**
Advertising Images	**34.8**	**29.4**	**29.0**

Total percentages may add to more or less than 100 due to rounding.



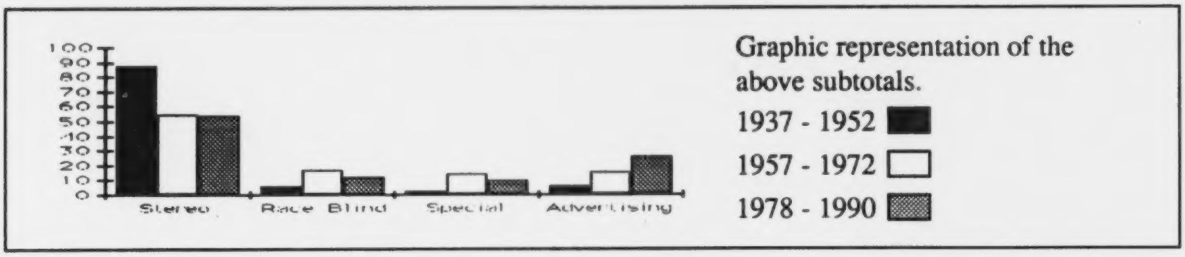
Graphic representation of the above subtotals.

1937 - 1952 ■
1957 - 1972 □
1978 - 1990 ▨

Table 5: Percentage totals for the *San Francisco Chronicle*

	Pre-Civil Rights Era 1937 - 1952	Civil Rights Era 1957 - 1972	Modern Era 1978 - 1990
All Pictures	12,693	24,051	20,937
African-Amer Pics	236	1,445	2,172
African-Amer %	**1.9**	**6.0**	**10.4**
Number of Issues	351	338	259
A-A Pics per Issue	0.6	4.2	8.3
Issues w/o A-As	211	25	2
Stereotypical Images			
Crime	2.1	3.3	2.7
Sports	78.8	38.1	39.5
Entertainment	5.9	12.9	11.4
Subtotal	**86.8**	**54.3**	**53.6**
Race-Blind Images			
Accident	0.4	0.6	0.8
War	0.4	0.3	0.6
Human Interest	4.2	14.3	9.3
Science	0.4	0.2	0.5
Religion	0	0.6	0.4
Subtotal	**5.4**	**16.0**	**11.6**
Special Interest Images			
Social News	0	0.8	0.3
Politics	0	2.9	3.1
Business	0	0.6	1.0
Social Problems	1.3	5.4	2.9
Education	0.8	3.3	1.7
Health	0	0.3	0.3
Subtotal	**2.1**	**13.3**	**9.3**
Advertising Images	**5.5**	**15.0**	**25.5**

Total percentages may add to more or less than 100 due to rounding.



Graphic representation of the above subtotals.

Joseph E. Johnson: Archetypical Frontier Editor

A Paper
Presented to
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Joseph E. Johnson: Archetypical Frontier Editor

If Joseph E. Johnson had restricted himself to one wife at a time, it is likely he would today be widely known as the archetypical frontier editor of the westward movement in America. As it was, although Johnson is widely quoted in popular newspaper histories for his quaint observations on publishing on the frontier in Iowa and Nebraska, little note has been made of his contributions on a wider scope.

Among Johnson's considerable contributions to early western journalism were these:

--started the first newspaper on Nebraska soil.

--started several of Iowa's earliest newspapers, earning national comment in the exchange papers for his wit and style.

--organized one of the first Indian ''Wild West'' shows that he led to Washington D.C., where he met with President Millard Fillmore to petition aid for the Omaha Indians.

--started the first newspaper in Utah outside Salt Lake City.

--started horticultural newspapers in Utah that aided settlers in learning to grow fruits and gardens in the harsh climate of southern Utah.

--ended his days running a mining town paper on the site of a major silver discovery.

--was one of very few early western editors who left an account of his life and business dealings through journals, diaries and letters.

THE FRONTIER EDITOR

In a 1980 study of frontier journalism, William H. Lyon laments the in-depth attention given to pioneer editors and their newspapers. He notes that when Rodman Paul and Richard Etulain assembled their bibliography on the American West, they found thirty entries on sheep and only twelve on journalism. (Paul and Etulain, 1977, entries 2886-2897). Of the two major approaches to frontier journalism history that Lyon identifies, one is what he calls the ''Knight thesis,'' named after Oliver Knight's study of the Owyhee Advance of Silver City, Idaho, based on the premise that the pioneer editor was a catalyst in social change, accelerating a chaotic and unplanned settlement to become a stable and cohesive community. Another point of view, which he calls the ''Lyon thesis,'' is that the pioneer editor was ''not so much a catalyst as a mirror of his society, bound and hemmed in by the norms of his frontier community, an individualist, or a democrat insofar as his own town possessed those virtues.''(Lyon, 1980, p. 9)

In this study of Joseph E. Johnson, his actions seem to lend him to the former approach, for Johnson consistently led out and shaped attitudes and opinions of his readers wherever he chose to settle and start his periodicals. Indeed, his horticultural publications alone--in a desert/mountain environment far from normal channels of agricultural advice--qualify him for that role. Here, his work will be examined in the context of a frontier mover and shaker.

In an 1895 reminiscence of early Nebraska journalism in the _Omaha Bee_, Johnson was remembered as ''a tall, spare, wiry man with dark hair and eyes, genial, generous, popular among his townspeople. . . a typical westerner of his time.'' (_Omaha Bee_, May 1, 1895.) Johnson may have been seen as a typical westerner, but he was much more than an average editor. An assessment by a modern Nebraska historian recalls Johnson's role in that state:

> The pioneer press usually bore the unmistakable stamp of a single individual. Of all the early Nebraska journalists, none was more colorful and individualistic than Joseph Ellis Johnson, editor and publisher of the _Omaha Arrow_ and later _The Huntsman's Echo_ of Wood River Center. Although Johnson was active on the Nebraska journalistic scene for only three years, he left the imprint of his character and personality on the pioneer communities of territorial Nebraska. . . . (Pfeifer, 1959, p. 121.)

In each state where he settled and published Johnson has received some mention, but overall the only major study of this editor is _J.E.J: Trail to Sundown_, a history written by his son, Rufus. It was published by the family in 1961.

CONVERT TO MORMONISM

A convert to the Mormon Church when he was 16 years old, Johnson was married eight years later to Harriet Snyder--with the ceremony performed by the Mormon Prophet Joseph Smith. At the height of the anti-Mormon persecutions, the young man accompanied Joseph and Hyrum Smith in 1844 on their way to the Carthage jail in Illinois where they were martyred, and he was taken prisoner by the hostile mob that entered the Mormon city of Nauvoo following that event. Along with the Mormon westward migration, Johnson left Nauvoo and settled on the east bank of the Missouri River at Kanesville in Iowa in 1848, and built the first home in Pottawattamie County. Appointed as postmaster of Kanesville, Johnson was instrumental in bringing about a change of name for the settlement--switched to the more euphonious Council Bluffs, a name originally imposed on the site by Lewis and Clark.

This is where Johnson's lifelong obsession with journalism began. He wrote at times for the Frontier Guardian, a paper owned by and edited by Mormon apostle Orson Hyde. In addition, in 1850 Johnson opened a large mercantile business, a bakery, blacksmith shop, a hotel, and a drug store. The latter was brought about by his concern when as a boy he overheard his mother tell his brothers that he would not live long. Trying to avoid what seemed an imminent death, he embarked on a lifelong study of the medicinal properties of local plants and herbs--a knowledge that turned into an enduring side business for him.

WILD WEST SHOW

Not long after the opening of the Nebraska Territory, Johnson established the first store on the present site of Omaha. In 1851 Johnson earned a niche in American history by barnstorming with a troupe of local Omaha Indians through the East, stopping at Washington to petition help from the government. As a storekeeper, Johnson was thrown into contact with the colorful Omaha plains tribe as customers, and he sympathized with their problems caused by the rapid influx of white men who trespassed constantly over their lands, killing their game and depleting the scarce supply of timber. So he decided to help the local Omaha Indians in their intentions to visit the governmental leaders in Washington D.C. Since they had not enough funds, it was decided to form a performing company and give exhibitions of Indian dances and life along the way to pay expenses. He organized a touring party of the Omahas--two chiefs, eight braves and four women--in bright ceremonial regalia, and headed in wagons for the railroad, performing in one night stands along the way. Admission was 25 cents for adults and ten cents per child. (Johnson papers, Fd 2, Diary #2.)

This was some thirty years before Buffalo Bill Cody made such shows world famous. But the presentations that Joseph E. Johnson shepherded through the East were marked by a series of lost performers, murky weather, half-filled houses and disinterested bureaucrats. It could hardly be classed as a rousing success. His journal and letters indicate a miserable experience, with lots of sickness and small and often unsympathetic crowds at the shows presented. Often they did not make expenses, and his journal entries show week after week of dispirited effort and discouragement. After arriving in Washington and receiving a bureaucratic runaround for several days, they finally received a visit from Indian agent D.D.

Mitchell. In his journal Johnson writes in discouragment that Mitchell ''. . . called to see us, talked very disparagingly, but promised to see us again.'' (Johnson Papers, Bx 1 Fd 2.)

On Jan. 27 the group was visited by Sam Houston, then senator from Texas, and because of his fame from the recent Mexican War a major figure in the capital. He was a good friend to the Omaha delegation and helped the theree white men get a proper hearing. After a visit with the commisioner of Indian Affairs and coverage in the Washington press, the delegation met with President Millard Fillmore on Feb. 2. In his journal Johnson notes ''. . . as a good man he [President Fillmore] sympathizes with their miseries. Prospects brighten.'' (Johnson papers, Bx 1 Fd 2.)

Although Johnson returned home discouraged about a lack of success, feeling that he had failed in the Omaha mission to Washington, the Omahas later received a grant of $25,000 and a new treaty was made giving a right of way to the whites for passage across Indian lands.

In a letter dated Nov. 7, 1851 Johnson signals his entry into the newspaper world. Writing from Chicago where he had stopped with his Indian entourage enroute to Washington D.C., to his family, he says, ''... I want to learn all about the press and who is going to edit the paper, and whether A.W. B. (Babbit) wants me to take it.'' Thus in 1852 Johnson bought the Council Bluffs Bugle, which apparently first merged with the Frontier Guardian and then replaced it. His partner in the venture of the Bugle was his brother-in-law, Almon W. Babbitt, who had accompanied him on the eastern Indian tour. Soon afterwards, Babbit was killed by Indians while crossing the plains toward Utah. (Rufus Johnson, 1961, p. 185)

Johnson's ensuing newspaper ventures in the midwest are somewhat confusing as he sometimes ran two papers simualtaneously, so it is helpful to spell out the chronology here:

1852--Established Council Bluffs Bugle, which was destroyed by fire in 1853. Later restored and published until 1856.
1854--Established Omaha Arrow, first paper in Nebraska.
1857--Started Crescent City Oracle.
1858--Published Council Bluffs Press.
1859-61--Published Huntsman's Echo at Wood River, Nebraska.
1861--Moved to Utah.
1863--Published Farmer's Oracle at Spring Lake, Utah.
1868-69--Published Dixie Times, later called Rio Virgin Times in St. George, Utah.
1870--Published Utah Pomologist in St. George.
1876--Set up press at Silver Reef, Utah

Judging by clips carried from the exchange papers, the Bugle was well received generally. In common with other frontier editors Johnson was a constant booster of his community. On the Bugle he made a practice of answering letters from distant readers who wanted to know what life on the Missouri River was like--a kind of early question/answer column. His spritely style is evidenced by his answer to one question posed by a distant reader.

''Is that a desirable country and a good place for residence?'' was one of a string of questions submitted by a certain reader from farther east.

Johnson's answer in the pages of the Bugle: ''Yes, a first-rate place to gouge and be gouged, as there are plenty of greenhorns and sharpers, one to be fleeced, the other to fleece. Tis a first rate place to get into a scrape by meddling with other folk's business and also a good healthy, pleasant country, where industry and perseverance and attention to your business will soon make the poorest rich. Come and try it.'' (Rufus Johnson, 1961, pp. 154-5.)

It was at this time in Omaha that Johnson further complicated his life by falling in love with a young English convert, Eliza Saunders. Earlier he had taken a second wife, Hannah, who had boarded with the family for a time and got along well with Harriet, Johnson's first wife. Eliza was another matter. She could not have been much over 15 years old when Johnson came courting and there was considerable resentment expressed through letters from his earlier wives. Because such a union was not sanctioned by Nebraska law, the marriage was kept under wraps until six years later when the family was all safely together in Utah. Harriet and Hannah maintained separate residences in Iowa and Nebraska, and Eliza remained in a home Johnson built her in a nearby settlement to avoid repurcussions.

The Omaha Arrow lasted less than a year, and in late 1856 Johnson turned over the Council Bluffs Bugle to Lysander Babbit. Then he moved a short distance north and fenced 1,000 acres and laid out the town of Crescent city, where he built a store and office for yet another publishing venture, the Crescent City Oracle, which was to prove to be a short experiment.

In the meantime Brigham Young was urging Johnson to move on westward to join the Saints in Utah. ''I deem it advisable that you be making your way to utah, with your family, as speedily as prudent and consistent. . . .'' (Letter from Brigham Young, April 19, 1860) After Johnson's experiences in standing by Joseph Smith in Nauvoo, Brigham Young remained a friend for life, at times even coming to his financial aid.

Not everyone liked what Joseph E. Johnson stood for in the pages of the Bugle, however. When the editor of the Burlington Telegraph attacked Johnson he did so in an area where Johnson was most vulnerable:

> ''As for the miserable Mormon who publishes the Bugle and passes for its editor by printing whatever is handed to him, we pass him by as beneath contempt, leaving him to the duplicate consolations derivable from the 'spritiual wife'' system of his persuasion, which we understand he practices up to the handle. Though a fit medium from 'social relations' through which to eke out the vile instincts of personal and political prostitution, his paper is not one which can reasonably expect to challenge controversy at the hands of white folks. (Rufus Johnson, 1961, p. 187)

In response to the Mormon editor article, Johnson took up the cudgle himself and after an explanation of the argument, wrote in part:

> The fling he takes at us is really too contemptible to notice. . . Talk of associating with white folks? We are not aware that he himself had become naturalized since his long residence among the' Winnebagoes'. The squaws report him a gallant fellow. . . If half what we hear is correct, this editor may find a host of 'social relations' among that tribe of colored 'folks.'. . . when attacked in so low and dastardly a manner, we have descended for a moment to use the weapons thus he has placed in our hands. (Rufus Johnson, 1961, p. 188.)

A more More typical reaction to the Council Bluffs Bugle is this comment from the St. Mary's (Ohio) Messenger: ''Council Bluffs Bugle. We are in receipt of a paper with the above title published at Council Bluffs, Iowa. by J.E. Johnson, editor. The Bugle is decidedly a spicey paper, and its humorous and poetical editor seems to enjoy himself vastly 'out there' in the 'wilds of the west,' from the manner in which he talks. . .'' (Rufus Johnson, 1961, p. 189.)

In November of 1853 Johnson suffered that nemesis of the pioneer printer--a fire that swept through Council Bluffs, wiping out the business block where he had his newspaper and his mercantile businesses. He figured his loss at $20,000, a considerable sum in those days. For a lesser editor, that might have signalled total disaster, but Johnson was ever the entrepreneur. His retail businesses, his homemade herbal remedies that he peddled in the pages of his papers, and most of all his knowledge of horticulture and raising and reselling seeds, seedlings, and nursery stock enabled him through his life to prosper and support his newspapers. In any event, within six weeks he was republishing the Bugle, enlarged to a semi-weekly.

The Bugle was published until 1856, when Johnson looked westward across the muddy Missouri and saw potential for a city to rise on what he called a ''a delightful and sightly eminence overlooking the country for miles around.'' (Omaha Arrow, July 28, 1854) When there were only six houses on the site and even before he had an office a building to print a paper, Johnson began publishing the Omaha Arrow, the first newpaper on Nebraska soil to be edited in Nebraska Territory. The printing was done across the river at the office of the Council Bluffs Bugle. The first number was July 28, 1854 and the salutatory begins like this:

11

> Well, strangers, friends, patrons and good people generally, wherever in the world your lot may be cast and in whatever clime this Arrow may find you, here we are upon Nebraska soil. Seated on the stump of an ancient oak, which serves for an editorial chair, and the top of our badly abused beaver (hat) for a table, we propose inditing a leader for the Omaha Arrow. . . Yon rich, rolling widespread and beautiful prairie dotted with timber looks lovely just now, as heaven's free sunlight touches in beauty the lights and shades, to be entitled the Eden land of the world, and inspires us with flights of fancy upon this antiquated beaver.
>
> But it won't pay! There sticks our axe in the trunk of an oak, whose branches have for years been fanned by the breezes that sweep from over the ofttimes flower dotted lea, and from which we propose to make a log for our cabin and claim.''

Like other frontier editors, Johnson indulged liberally in the boosting function--but he appears to have been a better judge than most about the prospects in store. He was not above a little tongue-in-cheek comment in comparing a part of Omaha he called St. Nicholas. ''Why sirs, the St. Nicholas, New York, is no circumstance for comfort, ease and cheap living, to its namesake in our city. Here you may get venison, fowl, bird or fish cooked in any manner you width. You may smoke in the parlor here, put your heels up on the sideboard without injury to furniture, or for variety may spread your buffalo (robe). .. Omaha City, Indeed! Why, we have editors, squatters, deer, turkeys, grouse, and other 'animals' aplenty, and will soon show you that we will be one of the cities of the west.'' (Rufus Johnson, 1961, p. 208.)

In addition to publishing the Western Bugle at Council Bluffs, which he continued until 1856, and the Omaha Arrow, he practiced law, was an insurance agent, ran a merchandising business and a blacksmith shop. While in Nebraska, in addition to his other interests he raised large quantities of vegetables which he sold to the numerous wagon trains passing through headed for California and Utah.

In 1859 he moved his family to Crescent City, Iowa, a town which he helped found and where he published the Oracle for a year. Then he returned to Council Bluffs again, where he published the Council Bluffs Press.

Wherever he went, Johnson provided a civilizing voice. Whisenhunt reminds us of that role for such editors: ''. . . on the frontier the newspaper played an important role in shaping the thoughts of the average person who usually lived in extreme isolation with little contact with the outside world.'' (Whisenhunt, 1968 Winter, p. 726.) The editor portrayed in the Knight thesis goes even further:''The pioneer editor fostered better transportation and communication facilities, better government, better schools, churches, police . . . . Editors were a public conscience and a steadying force.'' (Lyon, 1980, p. 9)

Political issues dominated most of Johnson's Midwest coverage. The secession problem caused Johnson a great deal of anguish. He was greatly in favor of preserving the union, but only by peaceful means. His concern with the problem is shown by the fact that in the first two issues of the Huntsman's Echo, he devoted the first page of both issues to reprinting the proposed Kansas Nebraska Act, which he favored.

Not only was Johnson concerned with the economic and political scene around him, he influenced the moral and social life of the developing regions where he published. He was often engaged in vigorous campaigns against corruption and deceit. For instance, the Omaha Arrow outlined in detail one of the most flagrant cases of political thievery in government contracts. Captain Throckmorton of the river boat Genoa had charged the United States government double the ordinary price for transporting Indian goods from St. Louis to the Indian Agency at Omaha. Johnson reprimanded Throckmorton in print and advised readers that it would afford him pleasure to be informed of similar acts so that his periodical could ''send an Arrow that will stick in the bodies of the aggressors.''(Omaha Arrow, September 1, 1854.)

At heart Joseph Johnson was a pioneer himself. In 1850 he had accompanied a wagon train to Utah and returned home from that trip intending to move to that territory as soon as possible. His business concerns kept him in the Midwest, however, until the summer of 1861.

WOOD RIVER HUNTSMAN'S ECHO

In 1858 or 1859 Johnson and his large family departed Omaha for Wood River Center in Buffalo County, Nebraska. He took with him the printing outfit on which he had printed the Omaha Arrow, and in April 1860 he began printing The Huntsman's Echo. This colorfully-written newspaper chronicled the westward movement through the area, with an accounting of the number of wagons and demographics of the emigrants and their condition. His comment on the scene won him notice in the eastern press.

For instance, his June 14, 1860 edition notes the prevalence of buffalo in the area:

> As has previously been predicted, our beautiful town site has been rudely trampled by those ugly-looking wild beasts known as buffalo--and our ''low-priced boy'' is utterly unable, by shooting stick or other means, to hinder the trespass.
>
> Several parties have been out with guns to drive them off. . . . We intend to keep some weapons handy, so that, should they go to kick up too much dust around the office. . . we shall not be responsible for their safety. We are determined not to be bit by the ugly scamps, at all hazards, and should the Echo fail at any time to make its accustomed visit, it may be inferred that either ourself or some huge buffalo has fallen, and perchance, editor, printer, and devil may have for the moment forgotten their duty, whilst regaling upon the finest broiled hump ribs.

The _Echo_ was never a financial success. Johnson recognized the potential of the site of Wood River, however, and there is reason to believe that had he stayed, his newspaper's influence would have resulted in the division point of the oncoming railroad locating there instead of at Grand Island where it now is. (Pfeiffer, 1959, p. 123-24.)

Out in Utah, the Mormon-owned _Deseret_ _News_ noted the new paper:

> The Echo--the first number of The Huntsman's Echo, published by our old friend, J.E. Johnson at Wood River, Buffalo County, Nebraska, has been received. We wish it success! But the concern is too far off to have the revervberant sounds heard distinctly. Come higher up, Joseph. or blow a little louder! (May 23, 1860.)

The turmoil of the growing ferment of the Civil War was the final straw that finally sent Johnson from the Missouri River country. In the final issue of the _Echo_ he explained his departure:

> Friends and patrons--adieu. We have seceshed, and tomorrow shall start westward and shall probably become a citizen of Utah. . . This Republican reign of terror, blood, tyranny and oppression is too much for our Democractic style of free thought, free speech and freedom, where men who may chance to differ in opinion with wild bloodthirsty fanatics are threatened and sometimes despoiled or murdered. . . . Should our life and abilities be spared, our friends may find our footmarks through the boundless west, and again hear the shrill, oracular notes of the Old Bugler, re-echoed from the vales of the mountain. (August 1, 1861.)

Thus in 1861 Johnson finally gathered his family together and traveled across the mountains to Utah. Of the four presses he had used to publish in Iowa and Nebraska, he ended up with ''Old Guardy,'' which had been used by Orson Hyde to publish the Frontier Guardian. When Johnson left the Missouri River country and headed west to join the Saints in Utah, he arranged with others to carry the press. Their plans fell through, however, and they ended up shipping it by regular freight carriers at 25 cents per pound. The shock of the considerable bill when it arrived was assuaged by Brigham Young's either lending Johnson the money or assuming part of the expense. (Rufus Johnson, 1961, p. 185)

SETTLED IN UTAH

When Johnson reached Utah, The Deseret News noted his arrival with the last company of emigrants for the 1861 season: ''. . . among the number was J.E. Johnson, late editor of the Huntsman's Echo, who has ventured to come up to the mountains at last.''(September 27, 1861)

In Utah, Johnson cast around for a likely spot to continue his vocation of newspaper publisher. He decided on

Spring Lake, a settlement south of Provo in Utah Valley, and went there with his entourage and equipment to start the first newspaper in Utah outside Salt Lake City. In the salutatory of The Farmer's Oracle on May 22, 1863, he wrote:

> We are pleased once more to say to our friends, old and new, one and all, how d'ye do? Fate, or some well-meaning power, places us again upon the tripod, and so we submit , with this our best bow and a grand flourish of our feather. As we have eschewed politics. . . our interests will be to raise potatoes instead of armies--to count cabbage instead of votes--to stick to our ''poll'' for beans instead of members of congress.

At Spring Lake he purchased a huge home, called the Villa, which was enclosed within an adobe wall. Johnson transformed it into a combination drug store, printing plant, and home. Since he was a polygamist with three wives, he needed the approximately twenty rooms that made up the Spring Lake Villa. His medicine room, probably the most complete collection of patent medicines and home-made remedies outside the capital, did a lively business, to judge by the ads that ran in the Farmer's Oracle. His medicines were prepared and bottled under his own label. Johnson's numerous children and the hired hands all took a hand at putting out the paper, manufacturing and selling his medicines, and tending the orchards and gardens that made Johnson an expert in horticulture.

Because of Indian problems, however, by September of that year the Spring Lake settlement was being abandoned. the Salt Lake Daily Telegraph observed the editor's plight:

> Our friend Joe has done his best to give the people a useful little paper, but he has had ''a hard road to travel,'' and feels weary. Yet he does not seem used up, nor finally squelched. (September 15, 1864.)

With the abandonment of Spring Lake, Johnson packed up his press and moved to the desert climate of St. George in the southern part of the territory. There he began publication of Our Dixie Times in January of 1868. With his long experience, Johnson was not unaware of the problems of starting a newspaper so far removed from other population centers--nearly 300 miles south of Salt Lake City. In his second issue he wrote:

> . . . to establish the printing press so far inland, and in settlements so new and destitute of means to sustain it has not been small or light. . . . there are some in southern Utah who appreciate the labor and risks of a publisher; and we very much regret there are not more of that class. . . with very little help or encouragement from any source we have thus far succeeded in providing an office and starting the press. (January 29, 1868.)

After a few months, partly due to the connotation of ''Dixie''--as southern Utah was sometimes known for its climate--in the title, Johnson changed the name to the Rio Virgin Times, which lasted another year. The following year Johnson established the Utah Pomologist, devoted to successful gardening and fruit growing and published in St. George. Advertised as the ''only horticultural paper in the Rocky Mountains,'' it lasted at least six years.

With his other talents, Johnson also dabbled in pharmacy. One directory notes some twenty concoctions, salves, tonics, pills, corn cures, worm medicines, elixirs and so forth that originated with and were manufactured by this erstwhile newsman.

Nor was the Mormon editor uninterested in the nearby mining activity. After failing with several newspapers in St.

George, the indefatigable Johnson cast rose-colored glances at the silver boom developing in nearby Silver Reef, a mining camp some 15 miles north of St. George. He established the Silver Reef Echo there in 1877, and with ever-present optimism, wrote:

> In the past our efforts in publishing have not paid us. We like to be paid for our labors, and we think we can see opportunity. . . . We intend to commence at once the issue of a small daily sheet at Silver Reef, in which we will give condensed telegraphic reports, stock and market reports, and local news.(February 24, 1877.)

It is notable that the paper was a daily. The Deseret Telegraph had opened an extension line into Silver Reef, allowing for the publication of the Echo with telegraphic coverage. It lasted until the following year, when Johnson sold it to James Louder and J.W. Crouch, who changed the name to The Miner.

But Johnson was not entirely through. In 1882, in ill health and plagued by federal authorities as a polygamist, he turned southward to migrate anew with a group of Mormons headed for Mexico. On the night before leaving he wrote:

> Tomorrow, with the blessings of Providence, I shall start for Old Mexico, to open up a place of refuge for the Saints of God. Have three wives and am the father of 28 children, and have 27 grandchildren. (Alter, 1938, p. 230)

Unfortunately, Johnson did not live to reach Mexico. He died on the way in a settlement that became Tempe, Arizona.

AN ASSESSMENT

The career of Joseph E. Johnson exemplifies perhaps as well as any other the persistent optimism of the frontier editor of the west. In his admission five years before his death that newspapering had always been a losing proposition for him, there is something pathetic yet admirable, for the same spirit of hope burning anew is still there, and this was the driving power behind the determined pioneer printer, moving on again and again to start anew where the prospects for success might be better.

In summarizing the first part of his career, Johnson wrote shortly before his death in 1882:

> Crossed the Plains to Utah and back in 1850 Established the Council Bluffs Bugle in 1852, destroyed by fire 1853, restored and published until 1856; meanwhile published the Omaha Arrow in 1854, first paper in Nebraska soil. Started the Crescent City Oracle in 1857, pulished the Council Bluffs Press in 1858 and published the Huntsman's Echo at Wood River, Nebraska, 1859-61 . . . . (Autobiography, in Register of the Papers of Joseph Ellis Johnson, University of Utah Library.)

Unlike many editors of his time and place, Johnson was not only a ready writer, but could hustle up business and manage monetary affairs with equal aplomb. Johnson's many abilities and enterprises were recognized in retrospect by the well-known humorist Bill Nye, famous for the wit that emanated from Wyoming in his Laramie Boomerang in the 1880s.

> ''The Arrow was the first Omaha newspaper. Mr. Johnson was the business manager and had four wives besides.. . . All day long he would manage the paper, and then weary and exhausted, take up the the task of managing his four soul's idols. He also practiced law. And incidentally, he ran a blacksmith shop and preached. He was an insurance agent and kept a general store. On a cold day he would freqently, while drawing a gallon of molasses, shoe a broncho mule, write a sermon on humility and whip a wife.'' (May 11, 1889.)

Johnson's impact in his journalism career compares favorably with that of almost any other frontier editor. In his Midwest days, both the Omaha Arrow and the Wood River Huntsman's

Echo left a deep imprint on the early social and political scene in Nebraska Territory. Prior to the Civil War, the Arrow brought Nebraska nation-wide attention due to the flamboyant nature of its editorials, its opposition to slavery, its relentless crusade for democracy, its appeal to people of culture and refinement, and its wit and style in noting the local scene. The numerous testimonials from exchange papers all over the nation attest to its wide influence.

In Utah, his leadership in helping settlers to survive in a harsh climate and to grow gardens and orchards under extreme conditions won him national attention, with the U.S. Department of Agriculture noting his work. Leading botanists of the country traveled west to confer with him. At least three desert plants that he discovered were named for him. (Carter 1949, p. 199.)

In a real sense he provided a civilizing voice in the wilderness. He was more fortunate than most other editors in the outback of the west in that his other enterprises allowed him to prosper while he carried on his publishing, and it is perhaps to that fortuitous circumstance that we owe his long careeer in printing. It is not true, of course, that the number of wives he took cost him greater fame than if he had followed the more traditional path of matrimony. Instead, it is likely that the isolation in the Rocky Mountains where he was led by his beliefs took him out of the mainstream of exchange journalism where reputations were made.

In summary, the publishing that he did both in the Missouri River country and in Utah had considerable consequences in making those regions what they eventually became. Such results would seem to fit Joseph E. Johnson admirably as a major figure in frontier journalism history, if we use the ''Knight thesis'' of judging editors by their impact on the society they served.

# # #

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# # #

The Invisible History of Bylines

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The Invisible History of Bylines[1]

This essay explains why bylines have remained an unnoticed but potent factor in the history of reporting. Reporter identification evolved over two centuries as a facet of the tension between personal journalism and professionalism that peaked in the late nineteenth century and took nearly half of the twentieth century to resolve. The identification of reporters emerged in tandem with the push for the recognition of journalism as a profession separate from all other kinds of writing. This investigation examines why recognition replaced anonymity as a journalistic norm, what role bylines played in establishing news writing as a profession distinct from other kinds of writing, and how giving reporters credit for their articles affected the status of news writing as an occupation.

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[1] The Random House College Dictionary, rev. ed. (1988) and many of the sources I consulted hyphenated by-line. Many textbooks and The Associated Press Stylebook and Libel Manual: The Journalist's Bible,Christopher W. French, ed., rev. ed., (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1987) spelled it as one word. Since this paper is about bylines as journalists use them, I decided to use the AP Stylebook spelling..

The Invisible History of Bylines[1]

> The Press and public opinion are, after all, but two parallel forces, mutually reacting upon each other, and either of them will be powerful in proportion as they are freed from the littleness of the individual, and directed by the greatness of the collective mind.
> (The New York Times, p. 4, col. 5, May 29, 1870)

Although bylines have existed for over a century, their history often remains invisible because the origin of mechanical things, such as typefaces and headlines, seldom inspires scholarly investigations. Moreover everyone who reads newspapers understands the term "byline" automatically and expects articles bearing bylines to transcend routine news accounts. Today bylines provide as great an incentive for going to work for some journalists as their pay check. In fact, in 1987 a feature writer told Shirley Biagi, "If I don't have a byline pretty often--two, three times a week--I start getting withdrawal pains." [2] Presently, receiving a byline indicates the journalists' professional expertise.

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[1] The Random House College Dictionary, rev. ed. (1988) and many of the sources I consulted hyphenated byline. Many textbooks and The Associated Press Stylebook and Libel Manual: The Journalist's Bible, Christopher W. French, ed., rev. ed., (Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1987) spelled it as one word. Since this paper will be read by journalists, I decided to use the AP spelling.

[2] Shirley Biagi, "Rheta Grimsley Johnson," NewsTalk I (Sacramento: California State University, 1987), p. 2. Johnson writes a column as well as features.

Fred Fedler notes that many reporters like their jobs partly because thousands read their front page stories (and their bylines.)[3] His parenthetical mention of the byline is typical of the way textbook authors and journalism historians skip over reporter identification because bylines are self-explanatory. The evolution of bylines reflected the establishment of reporting as a worthwhile skill for professionals rather than as the hack work relegated to failures. bylines evolved in response to social and cultural conditions as a means of legitimacy, an excuse for including journalism with law, medicine, education, and the clergy on the list of professions that served the public. Therefore, the history of bylines is embedded in the history of reporting.

This essay will examine the emergence of reporter identification as a facet of the tension between personal journalism and professionalism that peaked in the late nineteenth century and took nearly half of the twentieth century to resolve. The fragmentary sources for this investigation included history books, newspaper accounts, and periodical articles. Although only Michael Schudson and a few others have commented directly on the significance of bylines, many have speculated about the meaning of professionalism and the impact of newspapers on morality.[4]

The identification of reporters emerged in tandem with the push for the recognition of journalism as a profession. To understand why journalism developed in a particular way, this essay will ponder these questions: Why did recognition replace anonymity as a journalistic norm? What role did bylines play in establishing news writing as a profession distinct from and superior to the fiction factory (the home-based business of producing items for newspapers and periodicals)? How did giving reporters credit for their articles affect the status of news writing as an occupation?

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[3] Fred Fedler, Reporting for the Print Media, 3rd ed. (Orlando, Florida: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1984), p. 180.

[4] Michael Schudson, Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 68, 144-145, 150-1, and 212-213.

Recognition Replaces Anonymity

The idea of recognizing the names of news writers grew slowly. The first people to receive credit for their work in American newspapers were the columnists who wrote essays in letter form. For example, in the Colonial Era, writers, such as Benjamin Franklin, sent newspapers satirical essays patterned after the works of the English literary journalists, Richard Steele and Joseph Addison. Franklin wrote fourteen comments on human nature under the signature of "Silence Dogood," a widow who declared herself the "...mortal enemy to Vice, and Friend to Virtue...as well as the "mortal enemy to arbitrary Government & Unlimited Power."[6] The writers often used pseudonyms. Even when the fear of offending government officials had ended after the Revolutionary War, the contributors' real names were not as important as their moral or satirical message.

The editors knew the identities of correspondents who used clever sobriquets, but the general readership did not. Of course, anonymity offered obvious political advantages. Besides, enabling writers to enjoy name recognition without accepting personal responsibility for their words, the use of pseudonyms increased correspondents' commercial prospects by enabling them to sell pieces to many newspapers and periodicals. Sometimes an individual's given name lacked public appeal. For example, Samuel L. Clemens had trouble selling his work until he appropriated the pseudonym, "Mark Twain," from Captain Isaiah Sellers, who contributed news about life on the Mississippi River to the New Orleans Picayune until his death in 1863.[6]

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[6] Jean Folkerts and Dwight L. Teeter, Jr., Voices of A Nation: A History of Media in the United States (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1989), p. 24.

Moreover, given names revealed the author's sex. Therefore, during the nineteenth century, women frequently took male pen names "... not because of any desire to be known as men ..." but because of the assumption that men wrote more logically and, therefore, more effectively than women.[7] The idea that gender was irrelevant in predicting writing ability "...a generation ago (in the 1880s) was impossible to the gallant, patronizing critics of the stronger sex."[8]

Correspondents have contributed to newspapers throughout the history of the press in the United States. One new development in the history of attributing articles to individuals transpired during the penny press era when some editors practiced personalized journalism. They reported local news sometimes in the first person and wrote fiery editorials. Horace Greeley, who often is associated with the reform era circa the Civil War as well as with the penny press, made the New York Tribune his pulpit. Donald Shaw concluded that the experience of New York papers between 1830 and 1860 did not reflect national trends; in fact, he believes the shift from political to community news did not occur until after the Civil War.[9]

Although the penny papers may not represent typical newspapers beyond New York, they do mark the point when reporters began to enter the newsroom, and they also provided a laboratory for experimenting with novel types of coverage. The sports and business articles as well as pieces about people usually ignored--the poor--appeared. James Gordon Bennett discovered crime news and interviews. Bennett published his interview with Rosina Townsend, a crucial witness in a notorious murder case, in the New York Herald on April 16, 1836.[10] Such transcripts approximated conversations. Bennett and Greeley reported interviews in the first person in a question-and-answer format to attain authenticity. This brand of personal journalism told readers who had written the story since the editor's name often appeared in the headline.

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[6] Mary E. F. Kelley, "The Value of a Pen Name," The Writer, 6:9 (Sept. 1893), p. 173. Twain named a colorful character in The Gilded Age, Col. Sellers.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Folkerts and Teeter, p. 134.

Since editors wrote the local news items themselves, it was not necessary to attribute articles. They put the editorials and the publishing information on the second page. When prosperity allowed them to add assistants, the identity of the news writers was no longer obvious. By 1850 most editors had hired at least one local (the forerunner of reporters) to gather community news and/or to write local color pieces. Mark Twain served as a local in Nevada for the Virginia City Enterprise, and on a slow news day, Charles F. Browne launched his famous letters under the alias of "Artemus Ward" in the Cleveland Plain Dealer.[11] The humorous letters from Twain and Browne bore their signatures, and the editors attributed the source of borrowed items either at the top or bottom of the story.

In addition to articles clipped from other papers, Greeley and Bennett both ran stories written by reporters. However, Emery and Emery point out that reporters entered the newsroom as permanent staff members mostly after the penny press era. Before the Civil War, "newspaper editors ran what local news they encountered or had time to cover, used their telegraph news, clipped their exchanges, and printed the contributions of correspondents." [12] Between 1830 and 1860, editors frequently made their newspaper the channel for their ideals.

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[10] Nils Gunnar Nilsson, "The Origin of the Interview," Journalism Quarterly, 48:4 (Winter, 1971), p. 708. He points out that Frank Luther Mott, Kenneth Stewart, John Tebbel, and F. Fraser Bond all gave Horace Greeley the credit for conducting the first interview on Aug. 20, 1859 with Brigham Young, leader of the Mormon Church.

[11] For descriptions of the columnists, see: Bernard A. Weisberger, "Legmen, Wits, and Pundits," The American Newspaperman (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 175-181; Frank Luther Mott, The News In America (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1962), pp. 83, 92; and Mott, "The Colyum," American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 260 Years, 1690-1950 (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1950), pp. 582-585.

The interest in news grew as advertising profits enabled editors to increase the number of pages in each edition. Also, by the mid 1840s, the telegraph brought fresh news from around the country daily. Suddenly, timeliness mattered. Editors realized that information was as important to readers as politics and religion. The desire to shape public opinion had motivated some editors like Greeley to devote their lives to publishing a newspaper. While visiting London in 1851, he told a Parliamentary Committee, studying the possibility of eliminating stamp taxes on English newspapers, that American editors emphasized news, not editorials because "...the paper that brings the quickest news is the one looked to...." Frank Luther Mott concludes, "[it] was inevitable that the emphasis on news as the chief function of the American newspaper should destroy the prestige of the editor-in-chief," and, thus, end the era of personal journalism. [13] During the late nineteenth century technological sophistication and social complexities made it infeasible for one person to own and edit a newspaper. The personal journalism of the lone proprietor was replaced by professional journalism after the Civil War in which management designated specific tasks for publisher, editor, and reporter.

The development of management precipitated changes in editorial policies.

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[12] Edwin and Michael Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1984), p. 263.

[13] Mott, The News In America, p. 93. Both quotations in this paragraph were found on page 93.

Headline attributions suggested that reporters as well as editors deserved recognition. Moreover column signatures called attention to the content of items and alerted readers to expect the story to deviate from mundane facts. Early humor, travel, etiquette, and sometimes dispatches from war correspondents bore signatures that taught readers to distinguish between everyday news and entertainment or articles written from a "special's" perspective.

During the Civil War, the papers referred to their correspondents as "specials." Although in 1863 General Joseph Hooker forced newspapers to give bylines to correspondents covering the Army of the Potomac to hold reporters accountable for stories that displeased him, many newspapers did not print correspondents' signatures. "It was only in the decades after the Civil War that reporting became a more highly esteemed and more highly rewarded occupation." [14] In fact, during the Spanish-American War, the correspondents, Sylvester Scovel and Richard Harding Davis, attained national name recognition for their signed dispatches.

The replacement of signature lines by the convention of putting the reporter's name in a separate line of type just above the lead probably began in the 1880s. Louis M. Lyons pointed out that The Boston Globe was among the innovators in the introducing staff bylines in 1886. "Personalizing the news columns went along with Colonel Taylor's effort to personalize and humanize the whole paper as another way to get the Globe talked about." [15] Ruth Kimball Kent points out in The Language of Journalism: A Glossary of Print-Communications Terms, that publications occasionally place bylines at the end of the story.[16]

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[14] Schudson, p. 68.

[15] Louis M. Lyons, Newspaper Story: One Hundred Years of The Boston Globe (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 61. He says that bylines had appeared mostly on Sunday features or on daily out-of-town assignments prior to 1886 but after then became routine.

A century ago only correspondents and star reporters received bylines. The Third Edition of Merriam-Webster's Dictionary, Roland E. Wolseley (the author of Understanding Magazines, and H. L. Mencken concluded that the word, "byline," was coined in 1907.[17] Determining the exact time and place the first byline was used is not as important as understanding the reasons why identifying reporters eventually became the norm in newsrooms. The byline may have evolved from the occasional appearance of the writer's name in the headline.

Examples of articles in which the reporter's name forms part of the headline can be found sporadically early and quite regularly during the era of the stunt reporters circa 1880 to 1900. The practice of identifying material clipped from other papers set the stage for recognizing significant or unique articles contributed by individuals rather than by newspapers. Throughout the nation's history, signed correspondence has provided a precedent for newspapers to name writers as well as sources.

Was Journalism Superior to The Fiction factory?

Until the Gilded Age, most people respected editors but placed their staff on the low end of the continuum of literary activity. In fact, during the late nineteenth century, The Writer magazine often referred to newspaper writing in articles about surviving in the fiction factory. That curious term, fiction factory, referred to the efforts of aspiring authors to make their living by selling articles and serials to publishers and newspaper editors. The term was not pejorative. William Wallace Cook, under the alias of Edward Milton, explained that writing at home was as respectable as working in an office or foundry.[18] To succeed, writers had to stay on schedule. Moreover, they produced a product in demand much the same as any laborer. Those who wrote short news items, serials, features, essays, romances, dime novels, and mysteries to satisfy the multitude toiled in fiction factory.

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[16] Ruth Kimball Kent, The Language of Journalism: A Glossary of Print-Communications Terms, (The Kent State University Press, 1970), "Notes: Chapter 1, number 12." The pages are not numbered. Some scholars believe the term was coined in 1914 not in 1907. "...Mencken...mentions that Burgess "launched the word in Burgess Unabridged in 1914, which would account for the appearance of this date in Webster's New World Dictionary and Wentworth and Flexner's Dictionary of American Slang." The exact date of the first reference to bylines may be impossible to determine.

[17] Roland E. Wolseley, Understanding Magazines (Ames, Iowa: The Iowa State Press, 1965) and H. L. Mencken, The American Language, Suppl. I (New York: Knopf, Inc., 1945), p. 329, n. 6. Both citations appear in Kent, Language of Journalism, end note number 12.

George Allan England (the author of The House of Transmutation, The Elixir of Hate, and Darkness and Dawn) also wrote in the fiction factory. He built his home in the Maine wilderness after "...illness [had] laid [him] low..." and kept notebooks full of observations as well as newspaper clippings to stimulate his imagination.[19] To "saw the wood of contemporary fiction," England discussed the predetermined plot highlights frequently with an editor from Frank A. Munsey's magazines.[20] He discovered that his shop ran best in sunlight. "Lamplight seems to dull the product."[21] Although England would take a walk, go for a drive, or go skating after turning out 3,000 words, he worked everyday--including Sunday--until he had filled his word quota. Like all mechanics he scoffed at the suggestion that his labor required genius: [22]

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[18] William Wallace Cook, The Fiction Factory (Ridgewood, N. J.: The Editor Company, 1912).

[19] George Allan England, "The Fiction Factory: "How a Man Writes and Sells Over Half a Million Words a Year," The Independent, 74:3356 (March 27, 1913), p.687. England wrote advertising and insurance puffs for a year before trying to sell his first short story to Collier's. Soon McClure's, The American Magazine and Harper's were also purchasing his narratives and articles.

[20] Ibid., p. 690.

[21] Ibid., p. 689.

> Some day, when I am very, very rich--Oh, worth maybe $5,000--I'm going to be a genius. Until then I shall remain a mechanic, sawing wood like any other, making the chips fly, capitalizing myself and everybody and everything else I can get my hands on, and in general enjoying life thru the very function of trying to interpret it.

England rewrote only the half dozen interpretive essays that he contributed to The Independent or other intellectual journals each year. He also fabricated brief items for periodicals and movie scenarios as well as short stories and serials to keep "...the cogs grinding, the buzzsaws humming, the sawdust flying and the finished products--all masterpieces, of course--shooting out in to the bin." [23] He explained "How a Man Writes and Sells Over Half a Million Words a Year" by anticipating what that "Big Baby," the public wants. In addition to factory and carpentry metaphors, England described his work with animal imagery: "Writers are just big tomcats stalking plot-rats through the attics and cellars of life, or sitting at incident holes waiting for the story mice to pop out." [24]

England's livelihood depended upon his readers' ability to recognize his name. In 1888 William H. Hills declared that the writer's signature was "...as valuable and important...as the sign or 'stand' of a famous firm or the trade-mark of a popular patented article." [25] In fact, Nellie Bly (Elizabeth Cochrane), one of the New York World's most flamboyant human interest reporters, was also one of the first celebrities whose fame not only inspired song writers but impressed entrepreneurs so greatly that they turned her pseudonym into a brand name. "When a savvy manufacturer started marketing the Nellie Bly dressing gown, a World cartoon showed Bly getting off the ship and confronting Nellie Bly Tooth Powder, Nellie Bly Hay Fever Remedy, Nellie Bly Snuff, and various other products." [26] Her pseudonym sold products in 1890 because people longed to emulate the bold young woman who had "outwitted Father Time" by traveling around the world at "lightning speed" on ships, rickshaws, sampans, and burros in 72 days, 6 hours, and 11 minutes. [27] Phineas Fogg, the fictive hero of Jules Verne's novel, Around the World in Eighty Days, had inspired her quest.

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[22] Ibid., p. 690.

[23] Ibid., p. 687.

[24] Ibid., p.689.

[25] William H. Hills, "The Writer's Signature," The Writer, 2:2 (Feb. 1888), p. 23.

Bly's adventure reflects the curious interplay of fact and fantasy in newspapers during the Gilded Age. Joseph Pulitzer spent a lot of money sending his star reporter to beat the time of a protagonist in a science fiction story. Of course, the stunt generated an avalanche of exciting copy for the World, including a "Round the World With Nellie Bly" game that let readers trace her route by tossing a penny to determine whether to move one or two squares. A contest promised a free trip around the world to the individual who guessed exactly how long her tour would take. The dispatches that Bly sent as she circled the globe captured the readers' imaginations. She became a heroine more exciting than any created by romance or serial writers. When she married the hardware store millionaire Robert Seaman, who was seventy years old, the World declared that "Nellie would have 'nearly everything the good fairy of the story book always pictures...'" [28]

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[26] Stephen Bates, If No News, Send Rumors: Anecdotes of American Journalism (New York: An Owl Book, Henry Holt and Company, 1989), p. 5. Also see Calder M. Pickett, ed., "Nellie Bly Goes Around the World," Voices of the Past (Columbus, Ohio: Grid, 1977), p. 181.

[27] Mignon Rittenhouse, The Amazing Nellie Bly: First Woman Reporter (New York: Dutton, 1956) p. 211. Also, see: Mignon Rittenhouse, "They Called Her The Amazing Nellie Bly," Good Housekeeping, 140:2 (Feb. 1955), pp.48-51+; Ishbell Ross, Ladies of the Press: The Story of Women in Journalism by an Insider (New York: Harper and Bros, 1936); Nina Brown Baker, Nellie Bly (New York: Holt, 1956); Iris Noble, Nellie Bly: First Woman Reporter (New York: Messner, 1957).

Her triumphant trip around the world alone at a time when most women traveled with chaperones would insure Nellie (Elizabeth Cochrane Seaman) a place in press history. However, one of her most important contributions to journalism entailed showing editors that name recognition of reporters made sense. Her name appeared in headlines like this one, which ran on Oct. 8, 1889: **"MRS. EVA HAMILTON'S STORY. SHE TALKS FULLY TO 'NELLIE BLY' IN THE TRENTON STATE PRISON. SHE SAYS SHE DIDN'T WANT TO MARRY HAMILTON, AND TELLS WHY..."** [29] Bly wrote the interview in the first person, which made readers aware of her presence. The article ended this way: "I held her hand, her lips trembled. 'Don't forget me. I am deserted.... It is so hard to be alone.' And so I took myself away. (signed) NELLIE BLY" [30]

Within a decade this "sob sister" method would be replaced in many newsrooms by the third-person dispassionate approach, but "...reporters in the 1880s and 1890s received popular acclaim....Reporters were as eager to mythologize their work as the public was to read of their adventures." [31] Nellie Bly's popularity earned her a Sunday column in the New York World, which "...was an innovation in newspaper publishing in 1893...." A sketch of her face appeared inside a nosegay underneath a ribbon emblazoned with her name above the headline, **"NELLIE BLY'S COLUMN."** In small print below the headline, she promised: "This is all my own, Herein every Sunday I may say all I please and whatever I please." [32] Although today Nellie Bly's copy seems melodramatic, in 1893 it commanded respect. Bly's articles helped crystallize the image of reporters as interpreters and skilled writers rather than as merely rejects from the fiction factory.

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[28] Madelon Golden Schilpp, "Elizabeth Cochrane Seaman: Nellie Bly, Feature Writer [1865-1922]," in Great Women of the Press, by Schilpp and Sharon Murphy (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983), p. 146.

[29] Rittenhouse, The Amazing Nellie Bly, p. 255. The rest of the head line reads: The First Time She Has Been Able to Speak Freely with a Reporter and to Give Her Side of This Extraordinary Scandal and Romance--How She Met Robert Ray Hamilton, Married Him and Was Blackmailed by "Josh" Mann and His Mother--They Knew Her Past Life and Threatened to Tell Her Husband -- He Did Not Believe Her Altogether Bad--She Was an Actress for a Year, and for a Time Was with the Florences -- Untruths About Her Birth and Childhood--Her Married Life and Her Explanations About Her Baby and the Other Babies--Why She Didn't Tell This Story on Her Trial--Her Diamonds." [OFFICIAL TO THE WORLD]

[30] Ibid.

[31] Schudson, p. 69.

By the 1880s educators and critics had begun to equate news with the products of the fiction factory. The North American Review referred to "the newspaper habit" as a form of mania and concluded that the United States would be better off without a common school system if all the graduates read were newspapers and E.D.E.N. Southworth's novels. [33] Such negative comparisons impelled journalists to distance themselves from the fiction factory by turning gathering facts into a ritual. The interest in factual but lively stories in the late nineteenth century generated experiments with objectivity. [34]

The creation of journalism programs in universities, which began in the 1870s but were not established as four-year curricula until after the turn of the century, clarified the role of information brokers and social institutions that newspapers have played in twentieth century.[35] In 1888 Hills described popular fiction authors and journalists as members of the same occupation. He noted that like serial writers who used multiple pen names, one journalist who sold columns to three different newspapers got credit for only one third of his work because his aliases ("Carp," "F. C. G.," and Frank G. Carpenter) indicated that three individuals--not one --had produced the copy. Finally, Carpenter published under just his full name.

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[32] Ibid., p.221.

[33] Augustus A. Levey, "The Newspaper Habit and Its Effect," The North American Review, 143:358 (Sept. 1886), p. 810.

[34] Schudson, "Chapter Three: Stories and Information: Two Journalisms in the 1890s," p. 88.

Alfred Townsend, made his newspaper pseudonym, "Gath," so famous that when he wrote novels, his readers recognized his full name on the title-page, according to Hills. In 1880, popular literature and journalism intersected. The Bookman Magazine of Literature and Life commented, "the domination of our literary world by the newspapers increases the number of writers clever at giving the public what it desires," and asked, "but does it work for or against the production of real literature?"[36] The Bookman concluded that while breaches of taste permeated newsrooms, serving the public brought out the best in journalists. Moreover, while in Greeley's day, usually only editors transcended hack work, by 1910 reporters were "taking a more prominent part in the literary world."[37]

> [The reporters'] opportunities are excellent, as his regular duties give him the best material for stories, descriptive articles, and essays, and the habit of noticing detail, picturesque situations, events and characters, obviously tends to literary production.

Both journalists and popular writers were accused of placating the great unwashed public. For example, The Nation complained, "The press in some degree creates the tastes which it gratifies, and the journalist's plea that he only publishes what he knows he can sell might be set up by the vender of obscene literatures." [38] In 1880, The New York Times ran this article, **"Penalties of Scribbling. The Unfortunate Fate of a Victim of Printer's Ink. An Incurable Weakness--Lofty Anticipations of the Aspiring Scribbler --The Fall of Pride."** [39] It emphasized the folly of contributing to newspapers. "The fever for scribbling...is speedily followed by an unnatural craving to see the writing reproduced in print...." [40]

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[35] Emery and Emery, pp. 699-701.

[36] Norman Hapgood, "The Reporter and Literature," The Bookman: A Magazine of Literature and Life, 32:1, rep. The Bookman, 1897 (Sept. 1910), p. 95.

[37] Ibid., p. 94.

According to the social historian, Henry Nash Smith, the critics of such romance writers as E.D.E.N. Southworth referred to them as scribbling women. [41] Although E. L. Godkin, the founder of The Nation magazine, called news gathering "a new and important calling" in 1890, the interchangeable way contributors to periodicals referred to newspaper writers and popular fiction authors suggested that journalism did not blossom into a widely recognized separate profession until sometime after the turn of the twentieth century.[42]

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[38] "Journalistic Dementia," The Nation, 60:1550, (March 14, 1895), p. 196.

[39] "Penalties of Scribbling. The Unfortunate Fate of a Victim of Printer's Ink. An Incurable Weakness -- Lofty Anticipations of the Aspiring Scribbler--The Fall of Pride," The New York Times, Jan. 9, 1880, p. 2, col. 5; reprinted from the Saturday Review, Jan. 24, 1880.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Henry Nash Smith, "The Scribbling Women and the Cosmic Success Story," Critical Inquiry (Sept. 1974), p. 47-70; Ann D. Wood, "The 'Scribbling Women' and Fanny Fern: Why Women Wrote," American Quarterly, 23:1 (Spring 1971); Helen Waite Papashvily, All The Happy Endings: A Study of the Domestic Novel in America, the Women Who Wrote It, the Women Who Read It, in the Nineteenth Century (Port Washington, N. Y.: Kennikat Press, 1972); Mary Noel, Villains Galore: The Heyday of the Popular Story Weekly (New York: Macmillan Co., 1954).

The authors of classics resented both the fiction factory laborers and the news writers because potboilers often sold more readily than timeless masterpieces and some reporters drew a salary. By the 1890s the newspapers were hiring some popular writers as well as college graduates for staff positions. "They (the newspaper staffs) were thinking of literature, and they were writing literature, and they were constantly urging their staff to greater literary effort."[43] Throughout the Gilded Age (1870-1910), many dailies and weeklies bought items from free lances who wrote about their experiences for a combination of magazines and newspapers. "O. Henry wrote leads for feature stories in the Sunday New York World in 1903-1904 and later contributed some of his famous short stories to the Evening World."[44] Although many agreed that authors of articles in periodicals should receive bylines, most disapproved of giving name recognition to reporters because they felt newspapers should emphasize the facts rather than the gatherers of the information.

Are Bylines Personal Journalism or Professionalism?

The Nation magazine explained in 1871 that human nature precluded giving news writers credit for their stories. The word "reporter" never appeared in this article. The contributor used the terms--"journalism," "newspaper literature," "newspaper press," and "writers"--to demonstrate how newspapers exerted power over the destinies of individuals and lured the vain to glorify themselves at the public's expense; therefore, articles should not be signed because:

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[42] Schudson, p. 7. See E. L. Godkin, "Newspapers Here and Abroad," North American Review, 150 (Feb. 1890), p. 198.

[43] "The Bane of Cheap Reading," The Literary Digest, 48:19 (May 9, 1914), p. 115.

[44] Mott, American Journalism, p. 585.

> the more impersonal the newspapers are--that is, the less there is known about the editor and writers, and the more they are veiled from observation--the more decorous they are in their language, and the more apt they are to treat the public questions on their merit. [45]

The Nation warned that like other professions journalism harbored "downright donkeys...ignorant men...unscrupulous men...very conceited and malignant and shallow men...." Moreover, many writers were "...honeycombed with mean jealousies and small spites, and base greeds, and ignoble aims of all sorts." Blackguards who developed these traits posed a threat to the community regardless of their occupation. But, only journalists could ambush opponents without taking any personal risk. "It is only the newspaper rascal who is always armed amongst the unarmed." [46]

"The cynical worm"--as The Nation labeled "The Man With the Notebook" (the reporter)--had reasons for being pessimistic. [47] According to Junius Henri Brown, the "unabated universal inky mania" rampant in the 1880s compelled penniless dreamers to enter "The Manuscript Market" despite the impossibility of succeeding in the fiction factory because of the glut of stories and essays as well as the scarcity of jobs in publishing firms or newsrooms. [48]

> The history of journalism is marked by the graves of journalists, dead from anxiety, annoyance, and overwork

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[45] "Signing Newspaper Articles," The Nation, 12:301 (April 6, 1871), p. 235.

[46] Ibid. All the quotations in this paragraph come from this source.

[47] "The Man With the Notebook," The Nation, 98:2538 (Feb. 19, 1914), p. 179.

[48] Junius Henri Brown, "The Manuscript Market," The Forum, 1 (July 1886), p. 484. The block quotation (as well as the references in the sentence) comes from this source.

> by or before middle age. Nevertheless, journalism is the least unremunerative and unsatisfactory of any form of manuscript-making.

By the turn of the century, the bombast against the intellectual poverty of some reporters and the romanticized view of the newsroom as a magic carpet to exciting adventures and heroic deeds coexisted. For example, while The Nation scoffed at the need for journalism schools and lambasted one Sunday paper for running illustrated biographies of the seven prostitutes murdered by "Jack the Ripper," Julian Ralph extolled "The Sixth Sense of the Newspaperman." [49] This news instinct mysteriously stole over the initiated cadre "like a draught of cold air up from a basement oyster saloon on Broadway" impelling them to inexplicably change their route just in time to witness crime, corruption, or mayhem. [50]

Jesse Lynch Williams also glorified the process by which cub reporters acquire "the News Instinct." The hero of his story, Linton learns how to induce hard-boiled attorneys to talk and where to find juicy items about high society. He glances instinctively at the message board as he enters the newsroom where he will write unsigned items that may take all day to track down but only fill five lines of type. Although most cubs drop out, Linton survives the rigors of the long hours and the challenges of the first month. He feels at home at his own writing table, which houses "as many cockroaches in the drawers as any of the tables." To him news is "a commodity with just as much dignity in the getting, handling,selling of it as any other article of merchandise." [51]

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[49] The Nation, "Schools of Journalism," 55:1288 (March 6, 1890), p. 197. Julian Ralph, "The Sixth Sense of the Newspaperman," Harpers' Weekly, 37:1903 (June 10, 1893), p.546.

[50] Ralph, p.546.

[51] Jesse Lynch Williams, "The New Reporter," Scribner's Magazine, 23:5 (May 1898), p.577.

> At least it was so on a paper like The Day, which was neither prurient nor childish, but clean and clever, with a staff of reporters made up of alert, self-respecting young Americans, for the most part of good education and some breeding, who did not find it necessary to lie or get or others drunk in order to obtain news, which they wrote in very good English...He was in one of them (the great job games), perhaps the most active of the lot.

The reporters' anonymity cloaked them in mystery and may have given them status among their peers as martyrs who sacrificed their personal aggrandizement on the altar of the public's right to know. The lore incorporated into textbooks provided examples of those who had died bringing the scoop to their local paper. Most students admired Edward Marshall, one of Hearst's Spanish-American War correspondents who had ignored his own pain and imminent death from fatal wounds he had sustained during a skirmish near Santiago to whisper his last dispatch for "the dear old Journal." [52] To die for the news was noble. To make that ultimate sacrifice expecting no recognition was divine.

Anecdotes assured neophytes that the glory of expending one's last breath in service of a beloved newspaper might await even the unknown reporter. For instance, upon being lifted from the twisted wreckage of a train near Stamford, Conn., Gregory Hume, a dying New York World reporter, implored rescuers to notify his city editor about the disaster and to apologize for him because he was "all smashed up" and, thus, could not cover the "Big Story." [53] Myths about legendary star reporters like Nellie Bly or John Reed who had died while finishing his eye-witness account of the Russian Revolution, Ten Days That Shook the World, and unrealistic images of themselves as rugged individuals, "the inheritors of an immortal tradition" willing to fight for justice kept reporters from understanding their role as laborers ("nameless hacks who [were] the paper's backbone") in an impersonal industry until the 1930s. [54]

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[52] Isabelle Keating, "Reporters Become of Age," Harper's Monthly Magazine, 170 (April 1935), p. 603.

[53] Ibid., Keating noted, "The copybook writers contributed to the delusion," p. 603.

> They regarded themselves, for the most part, as footloose if improvident dogs, scoffing at stuffed shirts, tearing the lid off rascality, and reporting with zest and some understanding of the startling, the ludicrous, the bizarre, and the tragic in the day's events.

As late as 1931, Will Irwin perpetuated the mystique of reporting by describing "one of the miracles of American journalism...the story of how he covered the San Francisco earthquake of 1906" without leaving New York City by "[entering] this exciting fourth dimension of the mind." [55] Irwin's family and friends lived in San Francisco. His knowledge of the city helped the paper avoid errors even though their wire service had been knocked out by the disaster. Irwin recalled getting a rub down at a Turkish bath after working forty-eight hours straight. Then although he was shaky and weary, he returned to his desk.

During that third day, Irwin entered the high plane of thought reserved for reporters with the right stuff who must stay alert to deliver the scoop. He was no longer tired. Moreover, he could vividly remember tiny details about San Francisco. The map of the metropolis flashed before his eyes. "My mind underwent an enlargement, developed a sensitiveness, such as I have never experienced before or since."[66]

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[54] Ibid., The quotations in the sentence were found on p. 603. The block quotation appeared on p. 601.

[55] Will Irwin, "Life in the United States: The Job of Reporting," Scribner's Magazine, 90:5 (Nov. 1931), p. 492.

Once the crisis had passed, Irwin resumed his normal schedule and suffered no ill effects from the overwork. Indeed, true to mythic expectations, he transcended routine journalism and "...ripped off five columns. That particular story, 'The City That Was,' came out the next month in book form, and it remained in print for twenty-two years."[67] "The City That Was" embodied the dreams of many reporters who hoped to be in the right place at the right time when destiny shattered news routines and, thus, inspired truly heroic, literary responses from those covering the unforgettable event. Despite the inherent dramatic appeal of such fantasies, the Depression of 1929 forced reporters to realize that the mystique of their calling would not pay the bills.

The myths,which perpetuated the reporting mystique, also glamorized the search for facts, which began late in the nineteenth century and reached its zenith in the twentieth century. The legends also encouraged journalists to reject personal journalism and emotional yellow press tactics. By 1900 publishers, educators, and journalists were discussing the meaning of professionalism. Joseph Pulitzer endowed the Columbia School of Journalism in 1904. Specialized training would prepare students to serve the public just as lawyers and doctors did. Moreover, college-educated journalists would cultivate independence from financial and political power brokers. Pulitzer advocated professional status for journalists rather than commercial recognition because:

> We need a class feeling among journalists--one based not on money, but upon morals, education, character.... I wish to begin a movement that will raise journalism to the rank of a learned profession, growing in the respect of

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[66] Ibid., p. 495.

[67] Ibid.

> the community as other professions far less important to the public interest have grown.[58]

The push for professionalism canonized the separation of news writing and all other varieties of nonfactual writing--at least officially. Journalism became a scientific endeavor dedicated to unearthing facts. Of course, denying bylines to reporters gave journalists a way to demonstrate the supremacy of objectivity because anonymity was suppose to induce local reporters to focus on community concerns rather than to "[chat] about personal predilections."[59] Reporters belonged to a unique secret club. The Bookman sympathized with "The Unsung Reporters," that "group...in the field of American hack writing..." those "anonymous souls who give us our daily news" and suggested creating a Pulitzer Award "for the best unsigned story appearing in the daily press. Hack work cannot have too many compensations."[60] Indeed, reporters worked long hours without recognition. Even their salaries tended to be low.

For example, in 1933 a metropolitan daily sent a young, college-educated woman to infiltrate the sweatshops where employees toiled from dawn to dusk for a pittance. After working for four or five days, she wrote an expose. Ironically, the cashier at the newspaper gave that reporter less for her clippings than she would have earned had she completed the week in the sweatshop. The very piece system that the editor had condemned in the garment industry existed in the newsroom where reporters were paid by the column inch rather than by the hour or week.[61] These abuses led to the formation of the American Newspaper Guild.

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[58] Schudson, p. 152.

[59] E. H. Lacon Watson, "By-Products of Literary Endeavor," Special Correspondence of The Dial, The Dial, 57:674 (July 16, 1914), p. 44.

[60] "The Unsung Reporter," The Bookman, 65 (July 1927), p. 499.

Besides compensation, the guild improved the working conditions in many newsrooms. Some feared unionization might bias the reporters in favor of labor. Others argued that reporters gathered the facts and, therein, were immune to being compromised. In the 1930s objectivity and anonymity served as measures of legitimacy for the press. The social and cultural upheaval triggered by the Great Depression of 1929 intensified the need to establish journalism as a profession devoted to serving the public. However, by the mid-1930s, reporters found sticking to just the facts inadequate to explain the technological and scientific complexities of twentieth century life. Folkerts and Teeter agree with Schudson that the economic crisis and the propaganda generated in World Wars I and II made the turn-of-the-century emphasis upon just the facts untenable.

The public's search for perspective concerning national issues often made the signed political columns displace local editorials. Such columnists, as Walter Lippmann, Heywood Broun, Dorothy Thompson, and H. L. Mencken, prospered in "the self-exploiting, individualized star-system" of the personal journalists of the 1920-30s.[62] Turner Catledge suggested that bylines for local reporters began to appear during the heyday of the signed political columns.[63] During the late 1930s, the byline established reporters in an occupational niche separate from copy writers.

The byline symbolized the recognition of the importance of subjective as well as objective accounts. Objectivity remained an ideal for hard news stories.

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[61] Keating, p. 605.

[62] Silas Bent, Personal Journalists," The Saturday Review of Literature, 15:7 (Dec. 12, 1936), p. 15.

[63] Turner Catledge, My Life and The Times (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 165, in Schudson, p. 213.

However, the world changed so greatly between 1930 and 1990 that anonymity for local reporters no longer guaranteed dispassionate coverage. In fact, today bylines sometimes function as a control mechanism for holding reporters accountable. The shift in the perception of bylines from the nineteenth to the twentieth century underscores the cultural significance of reporter identification. To determine what bylines mean requires analyzing the social context at specific historical moments. Today bylines reward reporters while simultaneously emphasizing their responsibility to the public.

The byline did not exist prior to the 1880s, but attribution in the form of signed columns and inclusion in headlines made the reporter's identity an issue in journalism occasionally prior to the Civil War. The personal journalism of the penny press editors of the 1830s and the stunt reporters of the 1880s precipitated a backlash against name recognition for reporters. Nevertheless, personal journalism proved that readers noticed the names of editors and reporters. Later, the personal journalism of the signed political columnists in the 1930s led to a change in interpretation of reporter identification. In the 1940s and 1950s amid the Red Scare and the fear of totalitarianism, the byline became a channel for accountability in an age of deception. Schudson found that the number of bylines increased dramatically between 1920 and 1960, which reflects the public's interest in interpretation and specialization. [64]

Bylines evolved as a means of legitimacy for journalism in the twentieth century when the complexity of technology and social life made expertise a factor in reporting. Before 1900 bylines signaled outside interpretation or star reporting of human interest issues. Giving up name recognition entitled reporters to claim superior status to those who still toiled in the fiction factory. The separation of fact and fiction allowed newspapers to make public service their mission and strengthened the journalists' claims of professionalism. The event, not the individual reporting the event, mattered. Through objectivity journalists asserted their independence from both big business and subjective manuscript markets. Indeed, journalism became a career as dignified as the law or the clergy. Reporters served a vital function in the network of mass communication distinct from writers for magazines, radio, or television. Journalism ceased being hack work. The byline changed during the twentieth century from a symbol of celebrity status to a recognition of the training and experience local reporters brought to their stories.

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[64] Schudson, p. 213. He examined the front page of The New York Times during the first week in January every four years from 1920 to 1944 and found six bylines in 1920, 2, in 1924, 8 in 1932, 20 in 1936, 35 in 1940, 37 in 1944, and 62 in 1964.

The Image of the Soviet Union in Three Elite Western Newspapers: 1960-1990

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PAPER

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INTRODUCTION

American humorist Will Rogers once remarked, "Russia is a country that no matter what you say about it, it's true" (Cohen, 1985, 11). However, there are many, particularly, in Russia itself, who would disagree with that statement. After the Chernobyl nuclear disaster in 1986, during which there were a number of erroneously high claims of civilian casualties based on spurious sources, Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev raged against the American press claiming that his country "faced a veritable mountain of lies" ("Did the media," 1986, 18).

The history of the Western press printing falsehoods against the Soviet Union goes back to the time of the revolution in 1917. Walter Lippmann and Charles Merz (1920) found in their examination of The New York Times during the Russian revolution that often the stories printed did not correspond with the facts. "In two years from November, 1917, to November, 1919, no less than 91 times was it stated that the Soviets were nearing their rope's end, or actually reached it" (Lippmann and Merz, 1920, 10)

A list of the falsehoods printed by the Times include:

> Thirty times the power of the Soviets was definitely described as being on the wane. Twenty times there was news of a serious counter-revolutionary menace. Five times was the explicit statement made that the regime was certain to collapse. And fourteen times that collapse was said be in progress. Four times were Lenin and Trotsky planning flight. Three times they already fled. Five times the Soviets were "tottering." Three times their fall was "imminent." Once desertions in the Red Army had reached proportions alarming to the government. Twice Lenin planned retirement; once he had been killed; and three times he was thrown in prison. (Lippmann and Merz, 1920, 11)

Stephen F. Cohen (1985), professor of Russian history at Princeton, contended that the press, unfairly, consistently portrays the Soviet as "a crisis-ridden nation with a stagnant, inefficient economy; a corrupt bureaucratic elite; a cynical and restive populace; and an aged, inept political leadership." Cohen continued by stating, "for the most part it is a crude caricature, lacking context, complexity, and balance" (p. 11).

Many critics of Western journalists contend that, historically, these distortions and lies concerning the Soviet Union are often the result of lazy journalists, who are either unwilling or unable to learn the language, the culture, and the nuances of Soviet politics. Additionally, American journalists in particular, have been accused of having an anti-Soviet biases and basing many of their stories on U.S. government sources who are attempting to promote their own anti-Soviet agenda (Bassow, 1988).

American journalists counter that that over the years the Soviets have gone to great lengths to hamper their ability to get at the truth. Journalists site the fact that they have faced strict travel limits throughout the Soviet Union, harassment and threats from the KGB, laws forbidding citizens to speak with journalists without prior consent of the government, and the threat of expulsion if their stories are deemed to be too negative (Bassow, 1988).

Both sides may have their points. However, can either side back up its charges with evidence derived from sound research?

PRIOR RESEARCH

Prior research in the area of Western coverage of the Soviet Union has generally focused on the print media, specifically major daily newspapers (Lippmann and Merz, 1920; Schillinger, 1966; O'Reilly, 1979, Kriesberg, 1947; Lule, 1989). In the studies conducted by Lippmann and Merz, 1920; Kriesberg, 1947; and Lule, 1989; the emphasis was exclusively on *The New York Times*. Two additional studies focused on the coverage of specific events relating to the Soviets in major weekly news magazines in the United States (Marlin, 1987 and Corchoran, 1986).

Reviewing the research of the coverage of the Soviet Union in the Western press reveals certain patterns over the years. News of the Soviet Union in particular in American newspapers is viewed primarily through Western perspective or biases. Lippmann and Merz (1920) in their analysis of the coverage of the Bolshevik revolution by *The New York Times* found that the *Times'* editors allowed their own biases to color what was eventually printed. Editorial comment found its way into feature stories which often times were more reflective of American special interests than they were of the truth.

Martin Kriesberg (1947) examined the coverage of the Soviet Union in *The New York Times* during specific and significant periods in Soviet history, beginning in 1917 with the Bolshevik revolution and ending in 1946 with the beginning of the Cold War. Kriesberg concluded that positive stories regarding the Soviet Union tended to occur only when Soviet actions were parallel to American interests. This was particularly true during World War II when the Soviet Union and the United States were allied against the Axis powers.

However, during the Cold War, when American and Soviet interests were no longer parallel, elements of the press in the United States, once again, tended to echo the agenda of the American government. From the launching of Sputnik in 1957

(Marlin, 1987) to the downing of the Korean airliner in 1983 (Corchoran, 1986 and Lule, 1989), elements of the American press consistently presented the stories from the perspective of the American government.

Prior research has also indicated that the Western press, from the Bolhevik revolution to the downing of the Korean airliner KAL 007 in 1983, has relied on a number of sources of questionable credibility for much of its information. Lippmann and Merz (1920) found that The New York Times derived much of its information from unreliable sources including the American government and former Russian officials who had their own vested interests in wanting the Bolshevik revolution to fail. Martin Kriesberg (1947) in his analysis of the coverage of the Soviet by The New York Times from the of the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 to the beginning of the Cold War in 1946, likewise found that the Times based many of its stories on questionable sources.

Schillinger (1966) examined British and American newspaper coverage of the Bolshevik revolution. In addition to The New York Times, Schillinger analyzed coverage in the Chicago Tribune, and the British newspapers The Times of London, and The Manchester Guardian. Schillinger concluded that all four newspapers were guilty of drawing conclusions concerning the Bolshevik revolution on weak or unreliable sources of information.

Cheryl L. Marlin (1987) examined three American news magazines: Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News and World Report covered the launching of the Soviet Sputniks in 1957. Marlin found that the source of the information affected the overall tone of the stories in the news magazines. U.S. News and World Report, which presented the most negative view of the Sputnik story, obtained much of its information from anonymous U.S. experts. Conversely, Newsweek, which was the least anti-Soviet of the news magazines, relied very little on U.S. sources and, where possible, quoted from Soviet sources.

Often the press, particularly in America, has described events involving the Soviet Union with biased language. Bolshevism was described as an infection in 1917 (Lippmann and Merz, 1920, 17). Sixty years later, when the Soviets downed the Korean airliner KAL 007, they were accused of committing "a crime against all humanity" (Corchoran, 1987, 166).

Past research has tended to support the view that the Western press, particularly in the United States, have not approached the Soviet Union objectively and its methods of obtaining information have been called in question. However, much of this research is either old or has dealt with a very specific topics. In order to ascertain general tendencies of Western coverage of the Soviet Union, the research should span a large period of time, beginning with the Cold War and conclude during Glasnost, and include at least one non-American news source.

PURPOSE

Particularly since the end of World War II, a number of journalists and scholars have suspected that the image of the Soviet Union, as portrayed in the Western press, has largely been negative. Domestic stories involving the Soviet Union tend to focus on dissident who seek greater political freedom, Jews who want to leave the country, and a system of industry and agriculture which is unable to maintain a proper standard of living for the Soviet people. In terms of foreign policy, the Soviet Union has traditionally been portrayed as a predatory nation, ally to terrorists and the great enemy of the United States.

The purpose of this study was to determine if these suspicions were credible by conducting a content analysis of The New York Times, The Chicago Tribune, and The Times of London for the years 1960, 1970, 1980 and 1990. This study was primarily a quantitative content analysis. The purpose was to count stories, then analyze them statistically to determine if the number of negative stories changed, vis a vis, positive and neutral stories over the course of time and from newspaper to newspaper.

This was not intended to be a qualitative content analysis. No attempt was made to analyze language. Additionally, there was no attempt to ascertain the source of the information in each article.

This study does not intend to pass any moral or ethical judgments regarding the policies or the focus of the Western press as it pertains to the Soviet Union. Stated simply, this study was conducted to establish is whether or not the stories printed about the Soviet Union, in The New York Times, The Chicago Tribune and The Times of London, over the last 30 years have been preponderantly negative.

HYPOTHESES

Based on historical analyses and prior research, it appears as if the image of the Soviet Union in the Western press since 1960. In studies by Lippmann and Merz (1920) and Kriesberg (1947), the authors held that the image of the Soviet Union, as portrayed in the American press, tends to reflect what is in the better interest of the American government. Both studies focused specifically on The New York Times. If this is true, then stories in The Times regarding the Soviet Union from the early 1960s should reflect America's Cold War hostilities.

The late 1960s was a period when the American press conveyed an attitude which was perceived, in some circles, as being hostile toward American foreign policy. In a study of the coverage of U.S.-India relations in The New York Times by Ramaprasad and Riffe (1978), there were indications that The Times' coverage did not parallel the interests of the American government. The authors attributed this to The Times becoming more critical of American foreign policy because of the war in Viet Nam. Therefore, it might be expected, that the same skeptical thinking would also influence The Times to be less likely to reflect the agenda of the American government concerning Soviet relations. Consequently, compared to 1960, the number of positive articles versus negative articles should increase.

In the late 1970s, America, politically, seemed to be swinging to the right. According to Herman (1982) and Silverstein and Flamenbaum (1989), The New York Times became more hostile toward the Soviet Union in the late 70s and early 80s. These analyses focused on specific issues pertaining to the Soviet Union: Soviet dissidents and Soviet-Polish relations. Although, the point of view of The Times on these specific issues may not necessarily reflect its entire outlook on all Soviet issues during this period, they do offer insight into an important aspect of the paper's point of view during a crucial time in history. Therefore, based on historical research, the balance of positive and negative articles will more closely resemble 1960 (the Cold War) than 1970.

The 1990s, so far, have been a time of enormous changes within the Soviet Union. As a result, the American government has sought cooperation and peaceful means of co-existance with its former enemy. In 1990, therefore, there should be more positive versus negative articles as compared to 1980. Additionally, the number of positive versus negative stories should be higher in 1990 than in both 1960 and 1980.

The Chicago Tribune has, historically, been one of the more conservative newspapers in the United States (Edwards, 1971). Therefore, The Tribune should, more frequently, print negative stories about the Soviet Union when compared to The New York Times over the course of the study.

The United States and Great Britain have been close allies for most of this century. However, the British press, particularly over the past 20 years has been less critical of Soviet Union than the American press (Northedge and Wells, 1982). Consequently, The Times of London will print fewer negative and more positive articles concerning the Soviet Union as compared to The New York Times.

From this evidence six hypotheses have been formed.

H-1: For The New York Times, the percentage of negative articles will be significantly lower in 1970, than in 1960.

H-2: For The New York Times, the percentage of negative articles will be significantly higher in 1980 than in 1970.

H-3: For The New York Times, the percentage of negative articles will be significantly lower in 1990 than in 1980.

H-4: For The New York Times, the percentage of negative articles will be significantly lower in 1990 than in 1960.

H-5: For The Chicago Tribune, the percentage of negative observations will be significantly higher as compared to The

New York Times for 1960, 1970, 1980 and 1990.

H-6: For The Times of London, the percentage of negative observations will be significantly lower as compared to The New York Times for 1960, 1970, 1980 and 1990.

METHODS

This study was a quantitative content analysis of three elite Western daily newspapers: The New York Times, The Chicago Tribune and The Times of London. These newspapers were selected because they have a reputation for excellence, with above-average coverage of foreign affairs. Each newspaper employs a large staff of foreign correspondents. In addition, all three newspapers have been included in a number of studies of press coverage of the Soviet Union.

The samples of articles were drawn from the years 1960, 1970, 1980 and 1990. These years were chosen because they fell at the beginning of a decade and they offered an exact 10-year comparison of Western coverage of Soviet news events. Also, the time frame of this analysis encompasses many momentous historical events. It began in the Cold War in 1960 and ends during the infancy of glasnost in 1990.

For each year in the survey, one issue per month for each newspaper was randomly selected for analysis. This corresponds with a procedure first researched and espoused by Stempel (1952), and subsequently employed by Hicks and Gordon (1974). All days of the week were eligible for selection with the exception of Sunday. The Times of London does not publish a Sunday edition.

The articles analyzed were gathered from the national and international section of each newspaper. Articles from other sections (business, entertainment, sports) were not included for analysis. However, sports and entertainment stories were analyzed if they were located in the national or international sections. In addition, editorials were analyzed.

To be considered for analysis, an article had to report or comment on activities or events relating to the Soviet Union. This was a subjective judgment on the part of the researcher. When examining an article, the content had to either make a direct reference to the Soviet Union, one of its institutions (such as its armed forces or the KGB), or one of its citizens (including exiles). It had been suggested to use the indexes for each newspaper to identify articles. Unfortunately, indexes for all four years of this study were only available for The New York Times.

A total of 556 articles were analyzed. For each year of each newspaper, 10 percent of the articles were randomly selected to be used to test intercoder reliability. The remaining articles were randomly selected to be divided equally among three coders. This selection process was repeated for each year of each newspaper in order to assure that each coder would receive an equal number of stories for a given newspaper for a given year. Whenever the total number of articles was not equally divisible by three, the remainders were added to the intercoder reliability pool. As a result of this the total number of intercoder articles rose from 56 to 67. This provided an intercoder overlap of 12 percent. Wimmer and Dominick (1987), suggest that the range of the overlap should fall between 10 and 25 percent (p. 182).

Each article was photocopied from microfilm. The article relating to the Soviet Union was cut from the photocopy and glued to a black sheet of paper. Depending upon the size of an article, anywhere from one to four articles were placed on one side of the paper. The reasons for separating the article to be analyzed from the rest of the photocopy were twofold. First, in the pretest, it was discovered that the coders were often distracted by other articles, photographs, or advertisements which were on the same page of the article to be analyzed. Second, efforts were made to prevent the coders from knowing certain details of this study, such which newspapers were being read and the exact date of each article. By keeping these details a secret it was hoped that this would insure that the coders would not become unduly sensitized to the purpose of this study. Elements outside the article could possibly provide unwanted clues revealing the date of the article and the newspaper it appeared in. Therefore, as much as was practical, the clues were removed.

CODING GUIDELINES

The coders were asked to determine whether or not they felt that an article they had read about the Soviet Union was positive, negative or neutral. The concept of what is considered positive, negative, or neutral can be highly subjective. Opinions may vary from coder to coder for any given story. Therefore, specific guidelines had to established based on previous research.

In his content analysis of The New York Times' coverage of the Soviet Union, Kriesberg (1947) identified certain standards which most Westerners, in particular Americans, use to judge the Soviets. Kriesberg based his criteria on two questions: "Were the values or ethics attributed to the Soviet action in harmony with the value system to which most Americans adhere?" and "Was the action taken by the Soviet government in the reader's interest as a citizen of the United States?"

To answer these questions, we might wish to examine some recent events involving the Soviet Union. In December, 1979, the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. To the Soviets, this was not an invasion, but an act to help insure their security and the security of an ally. To the West, America in particular, this was an illegal incursion into a sovereign, defenseless nation. On September 1, 1983, Korean Airlines flight 007 was shot down over Soviet territory. The Western press branded the event as an "atrocity in the skies" and "a crime against all humanity...like attacking a schoolbus" (Corcoran, 1986, 297). However, to the Soviets, the downing of KAL 007 was an act of self-defense. From the Soviet perspective, they were protecting one of their more sensitive military installations from the prying eyes of a spy plane.

The coders were instructed to keep in mind that they were being asked to judge the articles from a Western perspective only. After all, they were reading Western newspapers, with articles written by reporters who, for the most part, were raised and educated in Western society and aimed at readers who held Western values.

The coders were instructed to consider a story to be positive if it showed the Soviet Union in a good light. For example, an article would be considered positive if explained that the Russians had a good wheat harvest, or if the Russians signed a diplomatic agreement which was in accord with Western interests.

The best way to describe the concept of neutrality is to provide an example. On August 23, 1956, The New York Times reported that talks between the Soviet Union and Japan were postponed for a month because September is considered to be a vacation month for Russians. The story simply reports the facts without appearing to make any value judgments regarding the Soviet Union.

In addition to judging whether or not a story was positive, negative, or neutral, the coders were instructed to determine the subject of the story. This was determined by the coders placing the article into one of seven categories. The categories were based, in part, on categories used in a content analysis by Semmel (1976):

(1) Internal Soviet Politics

(a) Positive: Articles deal with changes in Soviet political system, more away from the traditional Communist role toward a system more attuned with Western philosophies. Within these stories, one might look for words such as "reform," "democracy," "political freedom."

(b) Negative: Articles would negatively compare the Soviet political system with that of the West. Within this category, articles may cover political corruption, lack of voice of the people in political decision-making, leadership insensitive or totally hostile toward any kind of political dissent. Look for words such as "totalitarian," "dictator," or "dictatorship."

(c) Neutral: Basic report of political facts: dates, times, places, persons involved. No attempt to make any value judgment regarding the event.

(2) Domestic Affairs

(a) Positive: Government programs to encourage or promote education or better health. Look for statistics: infant mortality down, lifespan increases, more students graduating from colleges.

(b) Negative: Social problems (i.e., alchoholism), higher crime rates, educational problems.

(c) Neutral: Social order has remained the same. If, however, the article portrays this as stagnation in Soviet society, then this would be considered to be negative (with improvements in medical technology, infant mortality should improve with each year, not just remain the same).

(3) U.S.-Soviet Relations

(a) Positive: Cooperation, signing of treaties, official visits, student exchanges, loans of national treasures. Key words may include "peace," "understanding," "cooperation," "constructive," "open."

(b) Negative: Conflict, harsh rhetoric from government officials (either government), spying, expelling ambassadors, military or arms build-ups (threat of war). Key words may include "hostile," "belligerent."

(c) Neutral: A story which basically reports who, what, when, where without casting any sort of judgment on the event. For example: President Bush met with Soviet Premier Gorbachev for two hours today at the White House. If, within the context of the story, adjectives such as "tense" or "friendly" appear, then this changes the complexion of the article to either positive or negative.

(4) Soviet Relations With Other Nations

(a) Positive: Similar to the U.S. category. Note: if cooperation between the two nations is viewed as a direct threat to U.S. interests (i.e., supplying arms to North Viet Nam during the Viet Nam War), the story will then be placed in the negative category of U.S.-Soviet Relations. To be positive, the story must be viewed positively in the Western sense, primarily from the point of view of American interests. If, for example, the Soviet Union signs an agreement with Canada to allow more commercial air traffic between the two nations, this would viewed as positive. However if, according to the article, the agreement undermines traditional American interests of security (economically, politically, or strategically), then it will be coded as negative.

(b) Negative: Similar to U.S. category. Includes all references to invasions or forced interventions excepting the time between June 22, 1941 (Germany invades the Soviet Union) and September 2, 1945 (Japan formally signs the instruments for surrender). Look for key words like "aggressor," "infiltrate," "exporting terrorism." Also be aware of similes or metaphors which liken the actions of the Soviet Union to the behaviors of predatory animals.

(c) Neutral: Meetings between Soviet officials and other foreign officials. Once again the crux of the report must consist almost entirely of facts such as time, place, and people involved. For example: The Soviet trade minister met today with the Canadian trade minister in Ottawa. The talks were aimed at increasing trade between the two nations.

(5) Economy/Agriculture

(a) Positive: Better standard of living, improved factory output, good harvest, oil or mineral strikes, exports of non-military goods.

(b) Negative: Poor economic conditions, shortages of goods, long lines of Soviet consumers, importing grain from U.S. or other nations to make up for shortfall in own harvest (not considered part of U.S. or Foreign Relations categories).

(c) Neutral: statistics or facts without any reference to improvements or setbacks to the Soviet Union. For example: The Ukraine produces more grain than any other region in the Soviet Union.

(6) Science and Technology (This includes their space program but not advances in military technology)

(a) Positive: Launches of manned and unmanned rockets (payloads may only consist of non-military satellites and probes for exploring space, other planets, and the moon), technological or medical breakthroughs, speculation regarding future Soviet technological developments. The context of the times is very important to consider here. In the 50s, Sputnik, a satellite which merely orbited the earth, was considered a threat by the United States. However, the Venera probes of the 60s and 70s, which explored Venus, were not considered to be threatening.

(b) Negative: Reports of inferiority or lagging behind U.S. or other countries in certain technological areas, Soviets stealing technology.

(c) Neutral: Today, Sputnik II will complete its 5,000th orbit.

(7) Other

(a) Positive: Sports triumphs (unless nationalism, U.S.-Soviet, or East-West rivalry is involved), human interest, entertainment, honors for Soviet citizens (i.e., Nobel Prizes).

(b) Negative: Accidents (plane crashes, Chernobyl), natural disasters, Soviet Olympic athletes portrayed as professionals who use questionable training methods (e.g., they use steroids).

(c) Neutral: An example might be: The Soviet hockey team will arrive today in Chicago. If this is referred to as a "goodwill tour," then it will be coded as positive.

Before the coders were given the articles to be coded, a pretest was conducted. The pretest consisted of eleven articles from years not covered in the actual analysis. Each newspaper was equally represented in the pretest.

The coders were given the pretest articles to complete individually. They were instructed to read the articles and to code them, based on the slant and category guidelines. Two days later, a meeting was held to discuss the articles and the way that the readers coded them. Some minor changes were made in the codes based on coder suggestions. At the end of the meeting, the coders were given 30 articles to be coded. Included in this first batch were 10 intercoder reliability articles.

Within the course of a week, the articles were collected. The coders were asked, individually, if they were encountering any problems. All three coders agreed that an additional category was necessary; a number of articles seemed to fit both category three, U.S.-Soviet relations and category four, Soviet Relations With Other Nations. For example, articles involving the Soviet Union and its dealings with NATO fit both categories. To solve this problem, an eighth category was created: International. The International category included articles which reported on events which involved the Soviet Union and its interaction with the United States and at least one other nation. The first 30 articles were returned to the coders so they could make any adjustments they thought would be necessary based on the addition of the new category. Additionally, the coders were given the remainder of the articles to code.

Although there were no other meetings of all three coders, the researcher periodically approached each individual coder to receive a progress update and to see if any of them were encountering coding difficulties.

of observations in a cell to compare with the negative cells was to combine positive and neutral. Even with these modifications, some cells still contained five or fewer observation. (See Appendix for both original and modified cell layout and chi square figures).

It was also necessary to combine subject categories in order to have enough observations per cell for analysis. Categories 1 (Internal Soviet Politics), 2 (Domestic Affairs), 5 (Economy/ Agriculture), 6 (Science and Technology), and 7 (Other) were combined and labeled as Internal Soviet Affairs. Categories 3 (US-Soviet Relations), 4 (Soviet Relations With Other Nations), and 8 (International) were combined and labeled as External Soviet Affairs.

The percentage of negative articles in this study ranged from a low of 58 percent for The Chicago Tribune in 1990, to a high of 97 percent for The Chicago Tribune in 1980. Kriesberg (1947) found that, except during periods when the interests of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. were parallel, Soviet news was rated as being unfavorable anywhere from 66 to 84 percent of the time.

The following charts compare the ratio of negative articles versus positive articles. Chart I compares the percentage of negative articles for each newspaper for four different years. Chart II compares the percentage of negative articles for all three newspapers over one year.

FINDINGS

When all of the articles were returned, an intercoder reliability test was performed using a method developed by Holsti (Wimmer and Dominik, 1987, 183). It was at this point that that a serious problem was discovered. After calculating the formula, the intercoder agreement on slant (positive, negative or neutral) was only 56 percent. However, after a closer examination of the responses of each coder, it was discovered that of the 29 instances where the coders did not agree on slant, 21 of those disagreements were from Coder 1. When the responses from Coder 1 were not calculated with those of the other two coders, agreement on slant was 87 percent. Intercoder agreement on category was only 61 percent when the responses of all the coders were calculated; without Coder 1, agreement was 81 percent.

When the responses of one coder seriously deviates from the responses of the majority, the responses from the deviant coder can be dropped from the study (Wimmer and Dominick, 1987, 184). However, by dropping that, data 160 articles, or 31 percent of the entire sample would have been lost. In order not to lose this data, the 160 articles originally analyzed by Coder 1 were recoded by another coder. Coder 3 coded the 160 articles; Coder 2 coded 30 out of the 160 articles. Coder 2's 30 articles were used to calculate intercoder reliability. Intercoder reliability for slant and categories was 90% and 83%, respectively.

The data were analyzed with chi squares. This, however, necessitated an adjustment in the way that the data were reported, then analyzed. First, it was necessary to combine the positive and neutral data into one category. In 1980, for example, there were 0, 0, and 2 positive observations in The New York Times, The Chicago Tribune and The Times of London, respectively. Therefore, the only way to get a workable number

Summary of Percentage and Chi-Square Analyses for All Questions*

Chart I

	1960	1970	1980	1990
% Neg NY	69_{a}	69_{a}	89	64_{a}
% Neg Chicago	67_{a}	69_{a}	97	58_{a}
% Neg London	62_{ab}	59_{a}	87_{c}	71_{bc}

Chart II

	NY	Chicago	London
% Neg 1960	69_{a}	67_{a}	62_{a}
% Neg 1970	69_{a}	69_{a}	59_{a}
% Neg 1980	89_{a}	97_{a}	87_{a}
% Neg 1990	64_{a}	58_{a}	71_{a}

*Percentages with common subscripts in each row do not differ at $p<.05$.

The first hypothesis was not confirmed. For The New York Times, there were not significantly fewer negative articles in 1970 than in 1960. Sixty-nine percent of the articles coded for both 1960 and 1970 were negative. Statistical analysis provided a chi square score of 0.005, df=1, p>.05.

The second hypothesis was confirmed. For The New York Times, there were significantly more negative articles in 1980 than in 1970. Eighty-nine percent of the articles coded for 1980 were negative as compared to 69% for 1970. Statistical analysis provided a chi square score of 6.8, df=1, p<.01.

The third hypothesis was confirmed. For The New York Times, there were significantly fewer negative articles in 1990 than in 1980. Sixty-four percent of the articles coded for 1990 were negative as compared to 89% for 1980. Statistical analysis provided a chi square score of 9.5, df=1, p<.01.

The fourth hypothesis was not confirmed. For The New York Times, there were not significantly fewer negative articles in 1990 than in 1960. Sixty-four percent of the articles coded for 1990 were negative as compared to 69% for 1960. Statistical analysis provided a chi square score of .35, df=1, p>.05.

The fifth hypothesis was not confirmed. A statistical comparison of The New York Times and The Chicago Tribune yielded no significant difference between the percentage of negative articles for each of the four years compared (see Appendix for list of scores).

The sixth hypothesis was not confirmed. A statistical comparison of The New York Times and The Times of London yielded no significant difference between the percentage of negative articles for each of the four years analyzed (see Appendix for list of scores.)

The following charts compare the ratio of articles which focused on internal Soviet affairs with articles which focused on external Soviet affairs. Chart III compares the percentage of external articles for each newspaper over four different years. Chart IV compares the percentage of external articles for all newspapers for one year.

Summary and Percentage of Chi-Square Analyses for All Questions*

Chart III

	1960	1970	1980	1990
% Ext NY	82_{a}	48_{b}	71_{a}	32_{b}
% Ext Chicago	67_{a}	56_{ab}	86_{a}	42_{b}
% Ext London	89_{a}	53	90_{a}	29_{d}

Chart IV

	NY	Chicago	London
% Ext 1960	81_{ab}	71_{b}	89_{a}
% Ext 1970	48_{a}	56_{a}	53_{a}
% Ext 1980	71_{a}	86_{a}	90_{a}
% Ext 1990	32_{a}	42_{a}	29_{a}

*Percentages with common subscripts in each row do not differ at $p<.05$.

The data for comparing articles focusing on Internal Soviet Affairs with External Soviet reveals, depending upon the newspaper, a number of changes over the course of the study.

The New York Times emphasized External Soviet stories in 1960, Internal in 1970, External in 1980, and Internal in 1990. Chronologically, the changes were significant. However, there was no significant difference between 1960 and 1980, and no significant difference between 1970 and 1990.

However, The Chicago Tribune focused more on External subjects for the first three years of the analysis. It was not until 1990 that The Tribune placed a greater emphasis on Internal affairs.

The Times of London in 1960 had the highest percentage of External stories of all three newspapers. In 1970, that number significantly decreased, however external stories were still in the majority. For 1980, there was a significant increase in External stories; but by 1990, the ratio of External to Internal stories was the lowest for all years analyzed.

When The New York Times, The Chicago Tribune and The Times of London was compared for each year of the analysis there was no significant difference in the ratio of external to internal articles for all three newspapers over the four years.

Altogether a total of 24 chi-square tests were performed which compared all three newspapers to one another. The tests for both slant and subject revealed only one instance where there was a significant difference (comparison of External/Internal observations, Chicago 1960/London 1960). However, this one instance may have been the result of a Type 2 Error.

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

According to the data analyzed the preponderance of articles printed about the Soviet Union in The New York Times, The Chicago Tribune and The Times of London were negative. This, in and of itself, is not surprising. What is surprising was that there was almost no change in the percentage of negative coverage either over the course of the study or among the three newspapers.

What may be alarming about the results is that, in only one instance, was there a significant difference among the three newspapers. Does this mean that The New York Times, The Chicago Tribune, and The Times of London spoke with one voice concerning the Soviet Union over the last 30 years? Was this negative view of a foreign country, as represented by the images brought forth in three of the West's finest newspapers, unique to the Soviet Union? The first question can only answered through further research. For answers to the second question, some inferences may be drawn from research pertaining to coverage of other nations.

The question arises, is this tendency unique when the subject is the Soviet Union? Or, by its very nature, does the Western press, particularly in America, tend to focus primarily on the negative aspect of other nations?

In two studies by Chang (1988 and 1989), it was suggested that the tone of coverage of the People's Republic of China was a barometer of the relationship between its government and the government of the United States. According to the study, as relations between the two nations improved or declined, the coverage provided by The Washington Post and The New York Times reflected those changes.

But what of the coverage provided by the American press of nations that have not been considered enemies of the United States' government. The so-called Third World nations tend to be shown in a negative light. In studies by Riffe and Shaw

(1982) and Potter (1987), American coverage of Third World nations tends to concentrate on conflict, upheaval, and disasters.

Even allies may suffer from shortsightedness in the American press. In a study of coverage of the Quebec separatist referendum in 1980 by Winter, Ghaffari, and Sparkes (1982), there was an increase in coverage of Canada. However, that coverage focused almost exclusively upon the efforts of the province of Quebec to gain greater independence from the rest of Canada. The U.S. dailies treated the event sensationally and ominously. The Quebec referendum was likened to the attempts by Southern states in the U.S. to secede before the American Civil War. The U.S. press tended to view the Quebec issue through the perspective of American values and the necessity that Canada remain united and the necessity that Canada remain united in order to maintain strong economic ties. For this reason, the supporters of Quebec separatism were portrayed often as enemies to the U.S., who might help bring about an increase in the political power of Communist elements within the French province.

It appears then, based on the studies mentioned that the Soviet Union may not be unique in terms of the U.S. press focusing on the negative aspects of a nation. The perspective of American ethnocentrism seems to affect the way other nations are portrayed in the American media.

Were the shifts in internal versus external coverage of Soviet events a reflection of the times, the prejudices of the newspapers, or the interests of their governments? In 1960, the emphasis was on the continuing Cold War conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union, according to three newspapers, was interested in expanding its influence in Africa, Asia and Cuba. Even attempts by both nations to arrive at some kind of compromise on the limitation of nuclear arms was still described with Cold War, anti-Soviet rhetoric.

In 1970, The New York Times shifted its focus more towards internal Soviet events. It was at this time that Alexander Solzhenitsyn won his Nobel prize. Therefore, a large number of articles in The New York Times and both The Chicago Tribune and The Times of London focused on the dissident Soviet writer. A spillover of the Solzhenitsyn story was that Soviet dissidents, in particular Jews who wanted to leave the Soviet Union, received a great deal of coverage.

In 1980, the focus in all three newspapers was predominantly on external Soviet events. Early in the year the primary news story concerned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The focus was not only on the invasion itself, but also on world reaction to the event. This included efforts by the United States, led by President Carter, to boycott the Olympics to be held in Moscow that summer. Later in the year, the focus shifted from Afghanistan to Poland, where there were rumblings of an imminent Soviet invasion.

In 1990, the emphasis completely shifted, for all three newspapers, to internal Soviet events. The focus, at this time, was on the attempts by a number of Soviet republics, including the Ukraine, Lithuania and Armenia to break away from the rest of the nation. Far and away, 1990 was the most internally-focused period during the study.

It was stated in the beginning that it was not the purpose of this study to make judgments of either the Soviet Union or the Western press. Whether or not the treatment of the Soviet Union by the Western press has been equitable or fair cannot be determined by the results of this study. What has been gathered, ultimately, are numbers not judgments. Numbers can be statistically verified to a high degree of certainty, but not judgments. Therefore, it is contingent upon others to make to make those judgments, carefully, based on a multitude of factors.

DISCUSSION OF FUTURE RESEARCH

In the year 2000, the final year of the 20th Century, with the balance of the news shift concerning the Soviet Union? That is a question for future research. For now, we may content ourselves with exploring the image of the Soviet Union in other newspapers, other media and for other times.

However, the names of our friends and enemies change with time. It seems, at this point, the old animosities between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have faded away. America's Cold War enemy has been defeated. Who then, if anyone, will be the new enemy?

Are there forces out there which threaten the annihilation of the United States? And what is the means by which the U.S. may be potentially destroyed? The empire of Spain was as much destroyed by economic factors as by military forces. The weapons against the United States may be economic in nature. The enemy, wielding this mighty sword may arise from a united Europe or, more likely, stealthily come down upon us from lands in the East. "The law of conservation of national hostility suggests that the enmity once reserved for the truly evil (Soviet) empire be redeployed against a Japanese ally whose offenses are those of productive efficiency and commercial zeal" (Krauthammer, 1992, 76).

In the 19th Century, America still felt great animosity toward England. In the 20th Century, it was the Soviet Union whom we feared. Who will we fear in the 21st Century? Will America's new enemy be the Japanese in the next century? It will be up to future researchers to analyze 100 years' worth of media to answer that question.

Table II
Original Distribution of Coders' Observations - 1970

The New York Times

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
positive	0	1	2	1	0	1	0	1	N=6
neutral	0	0	2	2	0	2	5	0	N=11
negative	11	4	6	6	2	0	2	6	N=37
TOTAL	11	5	10	9	2	3	7	7	N=52

The Chicago Tribune

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
positive	3	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	N=6
neutral	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	1	N=4
negative	6	1	10	0	0	1	0	4	N=22
TOTAL	9	2	13	0	0	2	1	5	N=32

The Times of London

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
positive	0	0	2	2	2	0	0	1	N=7
neutral	0	0	1	0	0	3	2	1	N=7
negative	6	2	4	6	0	0	1	1	N=20
TOTAL	6	2	7	8	2	3	3	3	N=34

Table III
Original Distribution of Coders' Observations - 1980

The New York Times

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
positive	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	N=0
neutral	0	0	1	1	0	1	2	0	N=5
negative	6	0	13	10	1	0	2	9	N=41
TOTAL	6	0	14	11	1	1	4	9	N=46

The Chicago Tribune

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
positive	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	N=0
neutral	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	N=1
negative	2	0	11	7	1	1	0	6	N=28
TOTAL	2	0	11	7	1	1	0	7	N=29

The Times of London

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
positive	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	N=2
neutral	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	N=3
negative	1	0	5	17	1	0	0	10	N=34
TOTAL	1	0	7	18	1	2	0	10	N=39

Table IV
Original Distribution of Coders' Observations - 1990

The New York Times

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
positive	6	0	4	1	0	0	1	2	N=14
neutral	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	N=3
negative	15	3	4	2	5	0	0	1	N=30
TOTAL	21	3	8	4	5	0	3	3	N=47

The Chicago Tribune

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
positive	2	1	6	1	0	0	0	2	N=12
neutral	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	N=4
negative	8	4	3	3	3	0	0	1	N=22
TOTAL	10	5	9	4	3	1	3	3	N=38

The Times of London

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
positive	4	0	2	3	0	0	0	1	N=10
neutral	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	N=4
negative	22	0	0	4	4	0	1	3	N=34
TOTAL	26	0	2	8	4	1	3	4	N=48

Table V
Distribution of Observations by Combined Category - 1960

The New York Times

	External	Internal	
positive/neutral	17	7	N=24
negative	46	7	N=53
TOTAL	63	14	N=77

The Chicago Tribune

	External	Internal	
positive/neutral	7	11	N=18
negative	32	5	N=37
TOTAL	39	16	N=55

The Times of London

	External	Internal	
positive/neutral	10	3	N=13
negative	20	1	N=21
TOTAL	30	4	N=34

Table VI
Distribution of Observations by Combined Category - 1970

The New York Times

	External	Internal	
positive/neutral	8	9	N=17
negative	18	19	N=37
TOTAL	26	28	N=54

The Chicago Tribune

	External	Internal	
positive/neutral	4	6	N=10
negative	14	8	N=22
TOTAL	18	14	N=32

The Times of London

	External	Internal	
positive/neutral	7	7	N=14
negative	11	9	N=20
TOTAL	18	16	N=34

Table VII
Distribution of Observations by Combined Category - 1980

The New York Times

	External	Internal	
positive/neutral	2	3	N=5
negative	32	9	N=41
TOTAL	34	12	N=46

The Chicago Tribune

	External	Internal	
positive/neutral	1	0	N=1
negative	24	4	N=28
TOTAL	25	4	N=29

The Times of London

	External	Internal	
positive/neutral	3	2	N=5
negative	32	2	N=34
TOTAL	35	4	N=39

Table VIII
Distribution of Observations by Combined Category - 1990

The New York Times

	External	Internal	
positive/neutral	8	9	N=17
negative	7	23	N=30
TOTAL	15	32	N=47

The Chicago Tribune

	External	Internal	
positive/neutral	9	7	N=16
negative	7	15	N=22
TOTAL	16	22	N=38

The Times of London

	External	Internal	
positive/neutral	7	7	N=14
negative	7	27	N=34
TOTAL	14	34	N=48

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